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HURDAIDE:

STRONG ARM OF THE JESUIT MISSIONS

Peter M. Dunne

MEDIEVAL UNIVERSITIES

John Arthur Kemp

SPANISH AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

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PAPAL DIGNITY DECLINED?

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Hurdaide: Strong Arm of the Jesuit Missions

Peter M. Dunne, S. J., Ph. D.

University of San Francisco

AMONG the great laymen of the Catholic faith there is one Don Diego Martínez de Hurdaide. This Spanish soldier's field of fine activity lay during colonial days in the southwest of North America in what are now the two states of Mexico, Sinaloa and Sonora. Captain Hurdaide's career began in the late fifteen hundreds when Spain was pushing her frontier northwest along the shores of the Pacific and the Gulf of California. This was an advance fraught with historic import, for it led Christian civilization first up to the gates of California and then after a delay actually into the fertile coasts and valleys of the Golden State. That which set the framework for this advance were the Jesuit missions of Sinaloa and Sonora, protected and aided by the strong secular arm represented by such a man as Hurdaide.¹

The missions of the West Coast were begun in 1591 on the Sinaloa River (opposite the tip of Lower California) by the Jesuits Gonzalo de Tapia and Martín Pérez. Prospering for four years they received a setback by the martyrdom of Tapia in 1594.² Because of this murder and the danger it caused the frontier of Spain the military garrison was strengthened at the town of Sinaloa, then called San Felipe, the mission. Among the officers of Captain Diego de Quirós was Diego Mar-

tínez de Hurdaide, soon to be honored with full command of the presidio and known and loved simply as *El Capitán*, who for thirty years "was the head and the heart of the State and almost of the Church in Sinaloa, for his services to the missions are beyond exaggeration."

Born in Zacatecas, Mexico (the date is unknown), Hurdaide came to the missions of the West Coast in 1595. But even previously to enjoying supreme command of the Spanish force he tracked down and brought to justice the murderer of Gonzalo de Tapia, an Indian *hechizero* (wizard or medicine man as we would call him) named Nacabeba. In 1599 Hurdaide was created Captain, an office to which was attached supreme military and civil authority in Sinaloa and Sonora. This post he held until his death in 1626.

As new missionaries came into the field — Méndez, Velasco, Santarén, Villafañe — the missions threaded their way, not too precariously, up the Río Sinaloa into the mountains and down the river to the sea. Mountain Indians and sea Indians were being gathered into Peter's net. But there was a long stretch of country to the north between the mountains and the Gulf of California, which was watered by three bountiful streams: the Fuerte, the Mayo, and the Yaqui. Twice, before Hurdaide's time, the frontier had been flung violently back from Río Fuerte with massacre of the Spaniards, but now that affairs were advancing so promisingly on the Sinaloa Hurdaide wanted to make the banks of the Fuerte safe for the coming of the Black Robe. This would mean the advance of Christianity and of Spain. To effect this he must subdue the proud and treacherous Suaquis and the warlike Sinaloas.

¹ The most important sources on Hurdaide are: a. The Jesuit *Cartas Anuas*, MSS, from 1595 to 1626; b. The Hurdaide Letters, MSS, in the *Archivo General y Público de la Nación* in Mexico City, *Historia*, tomo 316; c. Andrés Pérez de Ribas: *Historia de los Triunfos de Nuestra Santa Fee*. . . ., Madrid, 1645; d. Francisco Javier Alegre: *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Nueva España*, 3 vols., Mexico, 1841. Alegre wrote in the eighteenth century.

² Cf. Shiels, W. Eugene, S. J.: *Gonzalo de Tapia*, The United States Catholic Historical Society, New York, 1934.

Always against the shedding of blood in a pitched battle Hurdaide often accomplished his ends by diplomacy and sometimes by ruse. With the Suaquis he used the latter. Marching up to their river with twenty-four of his picked men, by swift and clever deceit he captured and then executed forty-one of the Suaqui chiefs. This action broke the back of the Suaqui resistance. Later a skirmish and a siege brought both the Suaquis and the Sinaloas to his feet, and by 1604 a new country was opened up to the missionaries. Two of these were procured by Hurdaide himself who went to Mexico to fetch them. Three Black Robes now began working up and down the Fuerte River as they had been working up and down the Sinaloa: the great historian of the missions, Andrés Pérez de Ribas labored on the lower river among the mild Ahomes and a portion of the Suaquis; Pedro Méndez was assigned to the middle river; Cristóbal de Villalta went higher up among the Sinaloas where he achieved a brilliant success.

To recount in detail all of Captain Hurdaide's exploits would require a book, and some day his biography may appear. His thrust to the Fuerte was one of his great successes, and the winning of this river whetted his appetite and that of the missionaries for farther conquests north. The populous tribe of the Mayo Indians which give their name to the stream some sixty miles north of the Fuerte gradually became friends and allies of the great Captain. The report of his conquest of the Suaquis went resounding to his high prestige from tribe to tribe of valley and mountain Indian. The Mayos, naturally friendly, mild and loyal, were proud to be received under the protection of the King of Spain represented by the mighty arm of Hurdaide. During an expedition Hurdaide made into the mountains to punish some rebels the Mayos marched as his allies. They wanted Christianity; they even begged that missionaries be sent to them.

There was a serious obstacle. North of the Mayo again some sixty miles near the sea there flows down from the north, its headwaters in Arizona, the largest of these West Coast rivers, the abundant Yaqui. On its banks near the sea were the famous Yaqui Indians, at that time strong in numbers and valorous in battle, no friends of the Spaniards. Missionaries could not be sent to the Mayo so long as the Yaquis remained unsubdued. These savages were the most difficult obstacle Hurdaide was ever called upon to encounter in all his long career. He went up to their river in 1607 or 1608 with a small force, but was compelled to retreat fearing to offer battle. A second expedition found only a Pyrrhic victory, while a third in 1609 resulted in the defeat of his forces and the disgraceful rout of his Mayo allies. It was his only setback of the kind and seemed for a while to spell calamity for the missions and for the frontier. After this defeat the Captain built a fort on the Fuerte, from which the river takes its name.

But what arms could not effect was brought slowly about by a combination of good fortune and clever diplomacy. Soldier and diplomat—Hurdaide was both, and he knew well the Indian psychology. By 1614 the caciques of the Yaquis were made friendly and the country was now open to the north beyond the Fuerte. Missionaries that year came up to the Mayo; in 1617 they

were able to advance to the Yaqui. Success was extraordinary, surpassing most of missionary history in the Americas. Father Pedro Méndez within a fortnight baptized over 3,500 souls on the Mayo; while Father Pérez de Ribas later on the Yaqui conferred the sacrament on 3,000 within a few days. In the meantime 8,000 had been confirmed at San Felipe by Bishop Juan del Valle of Guadalajara. As the missions advanced north along the banks of the Yaqui numerous thousands of savages were received within the fold. The official records give 11,340 for the year 1621 and 11,221 for 1623, while the grand total for the years up to 1631 amounted to 151,240!³ This all was conditioned in important measure by the military and diplomatic success of Captain Diego Martínez de Hurdaide.

This work was not accomplished without troubles, setbacks, dangers and rebellions. While the Captain was away in Mexico City in 1603 the Ocoronis rebelled. There was danger of a general uprising in 1616, the year of the disastrous Tepehuán revolt, when east of the Sierra Madre nearly two hundred Spaniards and eight Jesuit missionaries were slain. The Yaquis became restless and Father Basilio, their missionary, was shot at and wounded with a poisoned arrow. This caused a festering sore of many years duration. Hurdaide once pursued a group of rebels far up the northern fork of the Fuerte into treacherous canyons. It was in this same country that he had been dangerously ambuscaded years before by the Chinipa Indians and all but lost.

His last important campaign was made in 1622 or shortly before on the reaches of the middle Yaqui where it flows almost directly south. It was necessitated by a rebellion of a newly converted tribe, the Aibines. On the northern fringe of the mission system Fathers Oliñano and Bandersipe (a Fleming whose name is really Van der Sipe) were openly threatened with death by rebellious Aibines who were terrorizing the whole country. Hurdaide must take an army north: twenty-five mounted Spanish soldiers and a thousand Indian allies. It would be a march of over 200 miles from his base at San Felipe. He completely cowed the rebels. They accepted Hurdaide's terms and this northern country was again rendered safe for the activity of the fathers.

The strong secular arm, which for thirty years had been raised and held firm for the protection and advance of the missions, dropped in death early in 1626. An ancient historian of these missions, the Mexican Jesuit Francisco Javier Alegre, reflects thus upon the loss: "It was a blow not a whit less serious for those missions that the famous Captain Diego Martínez de Hurdaide passed away. With his valorous arm and prudent counsel, with his own private fortune and his constant protection of all the missions, he was for many years not less the Captain than the apostle, and the very prop and pillar of the Church in Sinaloa."⁴

It seems, as we have said, impossible to exaggerate this man's services to the missions of the West Coast and to the advance of the frontier of Spain up towards the gates of California. His career demonstrates to history what can be done when the secular arm and the spiritual

³ The sources, adding incorrectly, give the total as 151,621.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, II, 169.

power work harmoniously for the advance of the frontiers of the State and of the Church. We have here in this little niche of history a perfect example of the successful working of union of Church and State.

Hurdaide was not only a strong soldier and an able diplomat; he was besides a genuinely pious Christian. He was as much interested in the winning of souls and the conversion of the savage as in the success of the arms of Spain and the winning of new frontiers. A Jesuit who had been many years missionary in Sinaloa said of him: "A streak of lightning in war, his valor smashed the Indians when punishment was necessary; but he was a ray of light in times of peace, winning the natives by his kindness, his discretion and his artful stratagems of diplomacy."⁵ Great was his joy whenever a new Indian tribe was received into the Faith; nor did he express this on occasion without a sense of humor: "Now we have given another jolt to the devil in Sinaloa." Although he received a handsome salary, he died a poor man, for he expended his substance on the advance of the missions and the frontier.

Withal, he was not a handsome man. Short in stature, his legs were clumsy and, cowboy-like, he walked pigeon-toed. But he was of great strength and, for such legs, agile as a cat. He could run like a deer and God help the Indian whom Hurdaide ever pursued over the hills. Barring his defeat at the hands of the Yaquis, his was

⁵ Francisco Xavier de Faría: *Vida y Heroicas Virtudes del Vble. Padre de Velasco*. . . , México, 1753, Ch. VIII.

a constant success. No Spaniard of his army was ever taken prisoner; nor was he ever captured, though certain Indian tribes would have sold their very souls to catch him. Yet he fought twenty pitched battles with the Indians and pursued rebels far over ridge and canyon, far over precipice and crag.

Andrés Pérez de Ribas gives *El Capitán* a seventeenth century send-off. "He assisted," says Ribas, "in the reduction of twenty nations which accepted peace in the province of Sinaloa. Everywhere he showed courage, prudence, quick decision and perseverance, so that his prestige among all the tribes was of the highest, and this not only among neighboring and Christian peoples, but with those the most distant and the most fierce. He could really govern them with a piece of wax, for his mere seal upon a slip of paper, without words and even without a signature, carried by an Indian in his hair, would give the bearer safe passage through enemy tribes. To see this seal was to see the Captain and it assured immunity to him who bore it. . . . It is certain that he was favored by Heaven, for he lived the life of a perfect Christian. Assiduity at Mass and the sacraments, respect for the fathers, enthusiasm for the instruction of the Indians, all of these he had, and his ardor for the spread of the Faith was such that it engaged his whole thought."⁶ Truly, if all the things said about Hurdaide are correct he was indeed a great layman!

⁶ *Op. cit.*, Bk. II, ch. 20.

The Character of the Medieval Universities

John Arthur Kemp, S. J., M. A.

Loyola University

MAN'S judgment of the Middle Ages is becoming more and more in our day a criterion of his intellectual balance. Scholars are realizing that there is a great deal more to the "middle" period between the glory of Rome and Greece and the modern era of "progress" than they had formerly been led to believe. True, there are those adherents of the old *école philosophique* of the eighteenth century who still frown on everything that may have existed before the Renaissance, while every now and then one comes upon the work of some modern "medievalist" with his romantic devotion to a fictional past, that embarrasses anyone interested in getting to the truth behind the medieval scene. Both extremes are naturally avoided by conscientious scholarship. The Middle Ages are in need above all of the balance and judgment found in the work of impartial scholars. Happily at present many of the finest historical minds are turning their attention to this ripe field.

Though many men have been brought to a position where they no longer consider the medieval period as a dark and dismal interlude in the advance of human kind, their acceptance of the Middle Ages as a legitimate field of historical research is often based on their attraction for minor isolated facts in which they have become interested. They find it more difficult, however, to arouse much sympathy for that which underlies such facts, namely, the institution and the ideals whose manifestation they are. The knight with his high code of living is more easily accepted than feudalism and the enigmat-

ical Empire, rich in idealism, but filling its unique role in European politics with constant difficulty. The Church presents a parallel problem. She has won widespread acclaim for her architecture, her music, and her untiring patronage of the arts, but she, herself, often remains a mysterious dark thing, hardly reconcilable with the beauty connected with her. At times one feels that many of the externals in which she manifests herself would be more appreciated had she no connection with them.

In line with the increase of interest in medieval history, greater attention has been given the third of that great triumvirate of medieval institutions,—the university. On the university, as on the Church and the Empire, the foundations of medieval life were laid.¹ Like them, many aspects of the medieval university have received considerable favorable attention. The enthusiasm for learning in these circles, the widespread democratic spirit, the great doctors and their outstanding learning, even student life, with its songs and festivals, have been treated in detail in modern works on the university. Yet the university as an institution has been often avoided, or if treated at all, it has been treated with a certain disparagement. Separated from some of its more romantic elements, the university is invariably linked with "ecclesiastical control," "scholastic systems," "lack of freedom," and with doctors in theology who make it their supreme endeavor to interfere in matters of individual conscience

¹ Alexander of Roes, *De Translatione Imperii*, Grundman, ed., Leipzig, 1930, 27.

and delve into fields where they have no right to poke their theological noses!²

Such an attitude is easily explained. The modern historian finds it very difficult to understand the institution, a notion fundamental, as Professor Powicke has observed,³ to the medieval concept of life. The idea of a corporate body or union formed to achieve a common social end, which end is defined according to the nature of society itself, is not common to the modern mind. The modern world is overstocked with "societies," and "unions," but that such organizations be defined according to their purpose is a lost notion. Therefore, the modern writer, in attempting a definition of the university, one of the fundamental medieval organizations, is likely to lose sight of its purpose and function as a social thing, and define it according to non-essentials. On the other hand, the medievalist is less interested in such things as student life, material endowments, professors, or even, for that matter, curricula; he would seek to express the essential notes of the university's character. It would be helpful to follow his analysis.

I

The term "university," itself, as applied to a center of learning, needs some explanation. According to evidence it is of a later date than 1261, for before that time (certainly after 1230) the medieval center of higher education was referred to as a *studium*, a place of study. "University" merely means "union," "club," "organized group,"⁴ or, as D'Irsay defines it, a *confrérie de personnes*. In 1284 some Pisan captives at Genoa referred to themselves as *universitas carceratorum Januae detentorum*,⁵ "the group of captives detained at Genoa," and on numerous occasions the popes in their letters to the universal Church used *universitas vestra*, to designate the whole congregation of the faithful. The *Cismontani*, and the *Ultramontani*, student organizations at the University of Bologna, also called themselves "universities."⁷ Examples could be multiplied. The first name of the medieval university was *studium*, a place of study, though during the period 1200-1250 at Paris the letters of the popes often mention "the university of masters and scholars studying at Paris."

The word *studium* presents certain difficulties that must be cleared up. In the first place, a distinction must be made between *studium generale* and *studium*. The former was applied to venerable institutions whose foundation was lost in antiquity and which were recognized institutions of general culture; the latter title was given to smaller, less august, centers which did not enjoy the universal character in education that belonged to their more illustrious neighbors. A further distinction must be made between the *studium generale* and the *studium*

particulare, a different institution from the *studium*. The difference is explained in a letter of Raymond of Peñafort where he writes: "Aliud est generale, aliud speciale (particulare). Generale est quod est indultum toti collegio clericorum."⁸ The *studium generale*, therefore, was a place of study open to all, and in precisely this differed from the private *studia*, which belonged to religious orders, like the Dominicans and the Franciscans, and in which only the members of these orders received instruction. The distinction was probably the same as that which exists today between a university and a fully erected seminary.

The general *studium* differed from the ordinary *studium* and the particular *studium* also in matters that pertained to the curriculum. The general *studium* had a complete course of arts and philosophy, which was not the case with the others, especially the private *studia*. Then every *studium generale* was an institution that could offer the doctorate in one of the higher branches of learning, such as, theology, canon or civil law, or medicine. To be classed as a general *studium*, the institution had to offer courses leading to the doctorate in at least one of these branches. At one time Paris offered such courses in all four of these major fields, but after 1218 discontinued the courses in civil law by order of Pope Honorius III. Too many young clerics at Paris were forsaking theology, in which Paris specialized, for the more lucrative studies of civil law. On the other hand, at Bologna, where civil law was encouraged and became the glory of the institution, no theological faculty existed until 1364.⁹ Salerno appears never to have been interested in anything but medicine. These considerations of curriculum are however but of secondary importance in defining the medieval university.

Delisle, in one of his articles on the medieval university, considers the term *generale*, in *studium generale*. He is inclined to think of it as a "titre honorifique" whose legal significance it would be hard to make precise.¹⁰ In final analysis the term was one of distinction in view of the age of the first great universities and their dignity and authority. The inclination, however, to consider the general *studium* as a place where education was given in all branches of knowledge must be dismissed as not being medieval. The Middle Ages never had any concept of the university in the sense that Newman explains it, namely, as a completely organized group of faculties in which every subject would have its designated place. Such an idea of the university is a German one, and Döllinger quite confuses the issue when he contends that the medieval University of Paris was not a university because it did not have faculties in all branches of knowledge.¹¹ Neither is the definition given by the learned authors of the *Dictionnaire de Trevoux* entirely satisfactory, for they hold that the medieval university was so called because it offered a complete course of higher study in all the then known branches of learning, theology, law, medicine, and the arts—"à cause des quatres facultes qui font l'université des études."¹² The medieval *studium gen-*

² Arnold Nash, "The Teaching of Religion," *The Spectator* (London), June 23, 1939, no. 5791.

³ F. M. Powicke, "Christian Life in the Middle Ages," in *Christian Life in the Middle Ages and Other Essays*, Oxford, 1935; H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, new edition, Oxford, 1936, I, 3.

⁴ Denifle and Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis* Paris, 1889-1897, I, no. 41 (1221).

⁵ E. D'Irsay, *Histoire des Universités*, Paris, 1933-1935, I, 72.

⁶ Rashdall, *Universities*, I, 302, n. 1.

⁷ H. Denifle, *Die Entstehung der Universitäten des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1885, I, 155.

⁸ Denifle, *Universitäten*, I, 15.

⁹ Rashdall, *Universities*, I, 25.

¹⁰ *Bibliothèque de l'école de chartes*, 1870, 52.

¹¹ Döllinger, *Die Universitäten Sonst und Jetzt*, Munich, 1867, 6.

¹² *Dictionnaire de Trevoux*, nouvelle ed., Paris, 1771.

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EDITORIALS

Defeatism

Defeatism is akin to treason. Defeatism in the dark days before our entry (call us pessimists) into the World War of 1939 looks like cowardice. Hence, though the "inevitability" of a repetition of 1917 benumbs our enthusiasm, we are willing to fight for neutrality and for peace. We are willing to suffer the financial loss involved in keeping our citizens, our goods and our ships out of the danger zones. At least, that is the way we feel at present. But if our bankers ever succeed in betting a billion or two on either side (as they most likely will succeed), they will find the means of conditioning the American mind to a new crusading zeal for "saving civilization," and their investments. Instinctively we dislike the leaders who will soon have us aligned with the "democracies," and we feel helpless to stop them. But somehow the coming era of short rations and regimentation will find us confident that we can win the war, and free from regrets for the sheep-like negligence that brought us into it. For this venture into the history of our future war hysteria we duly apologize.

But there is another kind of defeatism. And there is a prospect more terrifying than the sacrifices America shall have to make to protect our industries, trade and banking. Any bookseller will provide a small pyramid of recent publications with pessimistic titles pointing to the crack-up of civilization. Often enough, it is merely the passing of the Humanist, Rationalist, Liberal delusion that they lament. Here, however, we confess a malicious satisfaction at the failure of the human folly which is rooted in the Renaissance revolt against right order. But when, as in the writings of not a few of the modern prophets, ruin threatens our whole Christian heritage there is reason for anxiety and worry. There is a civilization that is not worth saving. And we are the kind of defeatist who does not care to try. There is a Christian civilization that will survive precisely because it is Christian, and not all the madness of Hitler, Stalin and their satanic supporters can cause us a moment of despair. *Impavidos ferient ruinae.*

Interlude: Futility

And now for a paragraph or two of review, still in a minor key! Recently we had occasion to read a fairly

objective outline history of the world since 1914. In the several chapters dealing with the League of Nations, war debts, reparations, disarmament and economic conferences, we found "failure" and "futility" repeated like an unpleasant discord on every page. Now and again, the expression was varied by the use of a synonymous phrase. But the reading left us with the feeling that the history of twenty years of effort, often sincere and intelligent, could be written only in terms of defeat.

The treaty of Versailles, with its hypocrisy, its spirit of revenge and its threats of force, has been torn to shreds. The League of Nations has provided pleasant employment for a smiling troop of idealists. But whatever its positive contribution in the minor details of its huge task, the current impression is that in the great business of keeping the peace it never got beyond the sphere of faltering and fruitless protest. Reparations turned out to be largely a question of stepping down the significant figure before a long series of zeros until the astronomical 32 000 000 000 ended in complete default. Allied debts became something of a joke on Uncle Shylock, and it is hard to balance the value of our sad experience against the ill feeling caused on both sides of the Atlantic. Economic conferences ended in failure.

Since there were four major economic conferences between 1922 and 1933 as many equivalent expressions had to be found: "Nothing was accomplished," "Nothing was actually achieved," "The conference failed . . .," "All international efforts failed. . . ." In discussing the very laudable and somewhat pitiable efforts toward world peace the historian had to exert even greater ingenuity to avoid too frequent use of the word: "failure." The outlawing of submarines and gas at Washington in 1922 was "not ratified"; in 1923 the League adopted a policy of mutual assistance which "not one nation signed"; the Geneva Protocol of 1924 called for compulsory arbitration, but there was "no one to enforce it"; the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1929, which renounced war as an instrument of national policy, is labeled: "futility"; an amendment of the League about the same time recorded the same praiseworthy velleity, but was "not ratified"; in 1930 the London Naval Conference adopted an "escalator clause," which rendered its conclusions "farcical"; futility, deadlock and "no definite achievement" are the

terms used to sum up the Disarmament Conference of 1932; the final attempt of 1935-1936 apparently served only to generate greater fear and hatred. And so we have bigger navies, bigger armies, bigger budgets, a rearmed Germany, a re-militarized Rhineland, a repudiated Versailles. And through it all runs for a few short years the bright strain of the "spirit of Locarno," serving only to emphasize the surrounding gloom.

And so the War came. So the brief interlude between the Wars was spent. Fifteen years ago we whiled away the slow hours of an all-night ride on an antiquated French train discussing world affairs with a very optimistic Canadian professor. The professor talked like a phonograph record of Woodrow Wilson. And when we refused to warm to the glow of his enthusiasm he suddenly burst out: "You don't want world peace, do you?" We wanted it then and we want it now. But long ago the Psalmist sang: "Unless the Lord build the house, . . ." And most obviously the Lord has not intruded His unwanted presence into the councils of statesmen and diplomats. It would seem that the dumbest among the leaders should tumble to the fact that something is radically wrong with our secularized society. Is it too much to hope that wisdom may be born of sorrow, and that future leaders may realize what is wrong? It is not the specific job of the historian to build the roads of the future. But he may be able to point out just where Europe left the great highway of truth and sanity.

Pessimism

Only a few weeks ago, before the censorship was tightened, the news services of Europe displayed a marvelous efficiency. Radio and the press brought a million farm houses close to the streets of London, Berlin and Warsaw. Now, apparently through no fault of their own, the reporters are less vocal. We are back again in the days when the peoples of the world were learning so much that was not true. But the short memory of most men will not worry the experts who are employed to condition the minds of defenseless readers.

Those of us who believed what the war governments wanted us to believe, and who are willing to be fooled again, have felt too little resentment. And yet in affairs of relatively far less importance than either World War patent deception has in the near past aroused considerable indignation on this page. Whoever controls the British press, and indirectly influences the American press, gave us a very one-sided view of the late Spanish War. Frankly, we felt they were printing what they knew to be false or, at least, misleading. Whether it was an atavistic dislike for Spain or an unreasoning antipathy to Mussolini that distorted the news makers' vision, the plain fact is that many Americans (and Englishmen) learned a lot of things that were not historical facts. Moreover, there was the sympathy and admiration of editors for the bandits of Soviet Russia, for Leon Blum's Front Populaire, and for the International brigands who nursed and protected the cancer of "Spanish Democracy." Some things an historian finds hard to forget.

Looking over the mad world, it is easy for the historian, or for any one else, to be a pessimist. But merely for the sake of variety we turn to a more optimistic view. A year ago, the most cheerful feature of the Munich

conference lay in the fact that the Russian bear was left out in the cold, and that the temporary truce saved Europe from the menace of Bolshevism. There are those who now fear an inrush of "brutality and bestiality" from the combination of Hitler paganism and Soviet atheism. But there is some advantage in having the enemies of Christian civilization in the same inhuman camp. And yet it is hard to forget that many of the elements that make up the forces of "civilization" are far from being Christian. Still, from unexpected sources comes the observation that the real issue is precisely what Pius XI said it was: "For or against God." There is absolutely no doubt that Bolshevism, red and brown, is *against* God. And there is consolation in the thought that we shall not be asked to fight in alliance with either.

Anschluss

Some fifteen years ago Adolf Hitler wrote a book. Since then, Hitler has become a menace to "civilization," and the book has become a best-seller. In the book Herr Hitler had some hard things to say about Marxism in and outside of Soviet Russia. Since then, Hitler and Stalin have discovered, what either of them should have known long ago, that they are kindred souls under the skin.

It has been suggested that Hitler be forced (Who has the hardihood to undertake the job?) to eat pages and pages of *Mein Kampf*. Should he choke in the ridiculous process (which is the unkind wish of not a few), adherents of British-French axis would feel much relieved, no doubt. But let us be fair! While Hitler is munching away at his unsavory food why should not a whole army of conveniently forgetful editors be asked to eat pages and more pages of admiring print through which they won good will for the gangster government of Soviet Russia? After all, the editors owe us more in the way of satisfaction than does the author of *Mein Kampf*.

Hitler, it seems, is no longer an anti-Communist. Or shall we say rather that Stalin is no longer a Communist? We incline to the latter alternative. It is now four or five years since we began asking the casual question: How soon will Russia go "nationalist"? Now, we feel that the brains behind Comrade Stalin have dismissed the nightmare of world revolution for the more workable, more constructive idea of a mighty Russia, mayhap of a revived "Holy Russia." And in a big war far from home they see an opportunity.

Yet there remains the lurking worry that Soviet leaders are still in the bad business of world revolution. If so, they know enough about history and human nature to gauge the possibilities of general chaos in a war-exhausted Europe. We are told that Stalin has out-smarted Hitler. At the moment, he seems to have more to gain and less to lose by the odd *Anschluss*. But it may well be that his primary motive was merely to get the war started.

Ideologies

Five doctrines, according to Michael Oakeshott (*Social and Political Doctrines of Contemporary Europe*. Macmillan. \$3.50.) contend for the soul of Europe: the Communist, Nazi, Fascist, Liberal and Catholic. The Catholic Church, conscious of her Christian heritage, with a closer-knit, more systematic, more profound political philosophy, is still regarded as a stranger and an intruder, but she

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Spanish American Universities

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Early American civilization was an extension of Christian Europe. Transplanted to the colonial universities the culture of Spain's golden age flourished vigorously. Dr. Espinosa here concludes his study of the Spanish American Universities.

When I speak of these early American universities, perhaps I should make clear on what basis I style them "universities." Simply calling an institution a university does not necessarily make it one. And at the same time it is ridiculous to set down any hard and fast definition of "university." Harvard, for example, was occasionally called a university by colonial authorities and English friends in the seventeenth century. But the college was for the first time officially recognized as a university in the state constitution of 1780. It was unusual to style Harvard a university until the time of the American Revolution; and it is doubtless due to the long use of the term "college" at Harvard and other colonial foundations of higher education that in popular American usage it is still a common colloquialism for any institution of higher learning. If the test of university status be the existence of a graduate school, Harvard had one as early as 1645. She granted her first higher degrees in 1692. According to the medieval definition a university must offer instruction in at least one faculty superior to that of the Liberal Arts or Philosophy. If this be the criterion, Harvard College became a university in 1783, when the first three medical professors were inducted into office. In 1815, the Harvard Law School was founded; but it was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that Harvard finally realized the dreams of her founders and indisputably took rank beside the greater universities of the world. The colonial universities of Spanish America went through more or less the same stages in their development. The only essential difference is that they were founded much earlier, and were officially recognized as universities on the basis of the same universally recognized standards at a much earlier period.

Half a century before Jamestown was founded by the English, the University of Mexico was conferring degrees upon graduates in the arts, law and theology. Before the founding of Harvard College, the first embryo of an institution of higher learning in the United States, over a dozen universities had been established in Spanish America—universities of such standing that their graduates were accepted on an equality with those of the older institutions of university rank in Spain. "Indeed, for a century after its foundation Harvard was scarcely more than a small theological school, with a hundred or so of pupils, sometimes having no graduating class, practically never graduating more than eight or ten pupils, while the leading Spanish American universities counted their students by the thousands and their annual graduates by the hundred."

In 1551 the old University of Mexico, the first university in the New World, was founded by royal and papal decree with the title the Royal and Pontifical University of San Pablo. The Colegio Máximo de San

Pedro y San Pablo, the Jesuit College in Mexico City, opened in 1572, although not granted officially the title of university, was the one true college which the Jesuits had in Mexico in the sixteenth century. In fact in productive scholarship as well as scholastic standards, of these two institutions many historians give the palm to the Colegio Máximo. For two hundred years this institution was the hub of Jesuit activities . . . (stages in the Jesuit training) . . . in Mexico. The novitiate, juniorate, and tertianship were there up to 1585. The courses in grammar, arts, philosophy, theology, and the Indian languages for both Jesuit students and externs were given during nearly two hundred years. This alone was a work that had important results.

In the same year, 1551, the Dominicans obtained permission from King Charles V to found the University of San Marcos at Lima. The University of San Marcos soon had thirty-three professorships, endowed principally by the crown. It was a cultural center that contributed true elements of distinction to the society of Lima. In 1558 the same order of Dominicans established the Imperial and Pontifical University of Santo Tomás, on the island of Española.

In 1586 the Augustinians founded the University of San Fulgencio at Quito. It was soon overshadowed by the University of Saint Gregory the Great, founded in the same city by the Jesuits in 1620. At Bogotá the Jesuits had the College of San Luis since 1592, and it became the Xaverian University shortly after the Dominicans, in 1627, opened there the Royal and Pontifical University of Santo Tomás. Bogotá, the capital of the viceroyalty of New Granada, became one of the leading cultural and scientific centers of colonial America. It was spoken of by Spaniards as "the Athens of South America." At Bogotá was set up the first permanent astronomical observatory in America. In Peru the University of San Antonio Abad, founded at Cuzco, "The City of Kings," in 1598, was second only to San Marcos in Lima.

Farther south, the first university in Chile was the one established by the Dominicans in Santiago in 1619. The Jesuits in Santiago promptly obtained a papal bull from Gregory XV in 1621 raising their school to university rank. The Dominican University was destined to be in large measure eclipsed by the more efficient instruction of the Jesuits. This superiority was recognized by the Pope. While in 1627 he said that the degrees granted by Jesuits and Dominicans were valid only in America, he annulled the decree in 1634 with respect to the Jesuits, ordering at the same time that the degrees granted by the Jesuit universities in America should be recognized everywhere in the Spanish Empire.

In Argentina stood the famous University of Cordoba. It grew from the Colegio Máximo at Cordoba, which opened in 1614. In 1622 the college, with royal and papal consent, was raised to the rank of a university, and in the following year it granted its first degrees, valid anywhere in the Spanish Empire. It came to be the most

eloquent expression of Jesuit culture in this region in the colonial period, and until the expulsion of the Jesuits it was the intellectual center of the entire La Plata country. The Jesuits had another university, Saint Francis Xavier, at Chuquisaca (now Sucre) in what is now Bolivia, founded in 1624.

Numerous other universities were founded in the second half of the seventeenth century and in the eighteenth century. Toward the end of the colonial period a chain of nearly fifty universities extended all the way from Mexico City to Buenos Aires, which presented a remarkable record of achievement in the development of higher education on this continent when contrasted with the nine colonial colleges of the Thirteen English Colonies on the north Atlantic seaboard. And then, in 1767, at the height of this development, the Jesuits were expelled from the Spanish dominions, for reasons perhaps best known to King Charles III himself. It was an irreparable setback to higher education and cultural progress throughout Hispanic America; a setback from which she has not yet fully recovered because so great a part of her educational system was under their direction, and was thus cut off at a single stroke.

Of these first American Universities the three greatest, perhaps, were the Old University of Mexico, the University of San Marcos, and the University of Cordoba. Prior to 1775, 1162 masters' and doctors' degrees were granted at the Old University of Mexico alone. 29,882 bachelors' degrees were conferred between 1553 and 1775 or two hundred and twenty-two years—an average of almost one hundred and thirty-five each year. Not only were boys being educated at these universities, but the work done in the exact sciences and in the humanities by some of the scientists and scholars at these first universities still remains a model of true scientific scholarship and a lasting contribution to knowledge and the search for truth. At the close of the colonial period Alexander von Humboldt, the German scientist, did not hesitate to write of Mexico, or New Spain as it was then called: "New Spain pursues the study of the exact sciences with an ardor that I have never found in the great university centers of the old world." And in every aspect of higher education it was the same story all throughout Spanish America.

These first universities of colonial Spanish America established and conducted by the religious orders of the Roman Catholic Church, were the pioneer institutions of higher learning in this hemisphere. Yet even today, when mention is made of the beginnings of higher education in America, the average layman in the English-speaking world thinks immediately and only of Harvard and the eight other colonial universities of the Original Thirteen States; he has possibly heard of the Old University of Mexico. The reason for this erroneous notion is easy to explain. In colonial days the Western Hemisphere was parceled out among various European powers. Almost inevitably, therefore, the contemporary chronicles and histories were written in separate units and at times with a strong national bias. With the winning of American independence, in the half century between 1776 and 1826, the compartment tendency was exaggerated. The Western Hemisphere fell into a score of new and separate

nations, and historiography followed suit. With us American history since the Revolution has meant United States history, north of us it has meant Canadian history, south of us Mexican history, Chilean history, Argentinian history, or Brazilian history. This nationalistic pattern has made for provincialism of outlook in history. It has either hidden or cut many threads of unity which pervade the whole fabric of Western Hemisphere development. And by cutting it into bits it has greatly reduced the grandeur and magnitude of the theme.

One significant historical fact runs like a golden thread through all that I have tried to emphasize in this brief essay: namely, that the first universities were the twelfth and thirteenth century medieval Catholic universities of western Europe; that the colonial universities of Spanish America, which were the first American universities, were the offspring of the earlier medieval universities; and that all later American colleges and universities including our present-day ones, all of which evolved from exactly the same classical tradition and represent fundamentally the same continuity of purpose, are simply more recent additions to that same giant tapestry which depicts the great epic of the transit of Western European civilization and culture through the ages.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE. Very little has been published in English on the colonial universities of Spanish America, a fact which partially explains the ignorance on the subject in the English-speaking countries. The only approach to a comprehensive discussion may be gleaned from W. Kane, S. J., *An Essay Toward a History of Education* (Chicago, 1935), pp. 530-534, and Bernard Moses, *The Spanish Dependencies in South America*, 2 vols. (London, 1914), I, 327-328, and II, 154-171, 233-253. Virtually everything else that has been written on the subject deals exclusively with the Old University of Mexico, and the University of San Marcos, Lima, which, indeed would almost lead the casual reader into thinking that no other universities existed in colonial Spanish America, with the possible exception of the University of Cordoba, which sometimes is mentioned. Cf. Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Founding of Harvard College* (Cambridge, 1935), pp. 355-358; James J. Walsh, *Education, How Old the New* (New York, 1911), pp. 299-345; Herbert I. Priestly, "The Old University of Mexico," *University of California Chronicle*, XXI (1919), 369-386; Carlos E. Castañeda, "The Beginnings of University Life in America," *American Catholic Historical Review*, XXIV (1938), 153-174, which deals only with the Old University of Mexico. For the early history of the Colegio Máximo in Mexico City cf. Jerome V. Jacobsen, S. J., *Educational Foundations of the Jesuits in Sixteenth Century New Spain* (Berkeley, 1938), pp. 137-168, and Irving A. Leonard, *Don Carlos Sigüenza y Góngora, A Mexican Savant of the Seventeenth Century* (Berkeley, 1929), *passim*.

Editorials (Continued)

(Continued from page eight)

remains the sole defender of the Natural Law. The others are strong as doctrines only in their criticism of one another. And however vociferously they may deny it, they have much in common. With little violence to his inner nature the decadent and drooping Liberal sees his languid pink deepen into the red of Communism. Both Communist and Fascist are easily absorbed into the more coherent and professedly more irrational *Blut, Boden und Führer* worship of the Nazi.

Christianity must, of course, stand apart from all the modern heresies. But Mr. Oakeshott detects a potential cleavage between a Liberal-Catholic entente on the one hand and the three totalitarian exaggerations on the other. The principle of division, he maintains, must not be opposition between the materialist and the spiritual concepts of life. Fascist and Nazi have in the past made claim

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The Papal Dignity Declined?

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Editor's Note: We waive for the moment the question whether or not the election of Cardinal Laurenti can be proved from other sources. Mr. Morgan has given us a "literary" account of the election which, as so frequently in such stories, simply cannot be true. Our "creative writers," who draw on their imagination to mess up the truth, could profit by Father Betten's brief essay in historical criticism.

IT WAS natural that at the time of the death of Pope Pius XI, when a new papal election was to take place, eyes turned back to the conclave of 1922 in which that great pontiff was raised to the supreme dignity. Our papers were full of references to that event. But probably nothing attracted so much attention as the account of the repudiation in that conclave of the papacy by Cardinal Laurenti. I find it embodied in a long report spread over four pages in *Collier's Weekly* (March 11, 1939, pp. 57, 77, 78, 80) and signed by Thomas B. Morgan, who for many years acted as reporter on Roman ecclesiastical affairs and who is also the author of a lengthy life of Pius XI.

Can we doubt Morgan's report? Surely, if it is true, it can stand a close historical investigation. So let us investigate it. We shall be guided by the great principle of Pope Leo XIII that historical errors can only be rectified *adeundis rerum fontibus*, by going directly to the sources. Our sources are, first, the report of the facts of that election as known with certainty. These facts are briefly the following: In that conclave there were fifty-three (53) cardinals. Since a two-thirds majority is required to elect, at least thirty-six (36) ballots had to unite upon one candidate. Whether or not Cardinal Laurenti did receive thirty-six valid votes belongs to the matter that we are about to investigate. According to Thomas Morgan he did.

Another source is the law of the conclave as contained in the Code of Canon Law (Section: Documents). It is the constitution of Pius X, of December 25, 1904, which begins *Vacante Sede Apostolica*. Since the Cardinals know this most important law and carry it out conscientiously, we can glean from it how things are actually to be run in a conclave. This law with all its regulations is binding upon the Cardinals in conscience and cannot be changed by any but the (future) pope.

Let us now proceed to our investigation. We shall look carefully at the account of the whole affair as given by Mr. Morgan and compare its several items with the papal prescriptions. Before our eyes the solemn procession of the fifty-three cardinals moves into the conclave. The next morning the balloting begins. In the four ballots taken the first day the names of Cardinals Merry del Val and Gasparri dominate the field, without, however, gaining on each other. On the second day, so we are told, the votes begin to turn to Cardinal Laurenti and increase constantly during the four ballots of that day. On the third day, in the ninth ballot of the conclave, he showed such a considerable gain as to be near the two-thirds majority.

It surprises us very much that no definite numbers of the votes of the several ballots are mentioned, as is done later on, where the votes of the last six ballots for

Cardinal Ratti are given in detailed figures. It would increase our confidence in the report not a little if that had been done here as well. Mr. Morgan's report continues literally:

"With heightened feelings Monsignor Sincero, secretary of the conclave, began his tabulations for the tenth ballot. He knew that the time was near. He checked the figures and found that *Laurenti had thirty-six votes, the necessary two-thirds*. All the cardinals waited in restless anxiety for his announcement. With trembling voice he read out the results."

Let us mark above all that Cardinal Laurenti is said to have received just thirty-six votes, just the number required for a two-thirds majority and not one more. As far as the activity of Monsignor Sincero, so graphically described, is concerned there are the following regulations in the Constitution *Vacante Sede Apostolica: Secretarius autem Sacri Collegii et Magistri Cereemoniarum debent ab aula discedere, antequam Cardinales nomen eligendi in schedulis scribere coeperint, ita ut tempore scrutinii Cardinales soli in Capella remaneant* (No. 64 of the *Constitutio*). (The secretary of the Sacred College as well as the Masters of Ceremonies must leave the hall before the cardinals begin to write in the ballot the name of the one they vote for, so that during the time of the *scrutinium* (voting) the cardinals alone remain in the chapel.) The secretary of the conclave, therefore, is not present at the voting at all. The counting and the summing up of the votes is attended to by three cardinals, called *scrutatores*, who for this purpose are appointed by lot. The first *scrutator* opens the folded ballot so that the name of the person voted for can be read by him; he shows it to the second *scrutator* who also reads it, and then it goes to the third *scrutator* who reads it aloud to the whole assembly. At the same time a list is made showing the number of ballots cast for each of those who have obtained votes. (This whole procedure is described in detail in the Numbers 65-74 of the *Constitutio*).

Let us now return to Mr. Morgan's "report," keeping in mind that no Monsignor Sincero was present in the hall.

"With trembling voice he read out the results."

"Everything stopped. Silence begot drama. The assemblage was now sitting in the presence of the new pope. Each wished to be the first to acclaim the new Pontiff. Following the ritual the cardinal dean arose and, accompanied by two ceremoniers (—as we have just learned no ceremoniers or Masters of Ceremonies are permitted in the hall—), approached the throne of Cardinal Laurenti. The dean halted a moment and then bowed."

"*'Acceptasne electionem de te canonice factam in Summum Pontificem?'* (Dost thou accept the canonical election to the Supreme Pontificate?), he recited with profound emotion."

"There was a pause, a throbbing suspense. The moment that Laurenti would give his acceptance he would be the Pope and all present must bend the knee before him. He

would be the Supreme Pastor of all Catholic Christendom. He lifted his head and looked toward the cardinal dean through his black-rimmed glasses."

"'Esteem as I do the confidence you have shown me,' said the country boy from Monte Porzio, on whose shoulders had fallen the mantle of Pontiff and to whom all were gazing as the next successor of St. Peter, 'I am humble and unworthy before the exalted throne of Peter. It is my wish that this lofty office pass into the hands of another, who is stronger and abler to carry the burden.'"

"A unanimous and audible sigh coursed through the assemblage. He had refused to be Pope. . . ."

This is the exact "report" as given by Mr. Morgan, covering the "event" from the moment of the publication of the ballot to the moment of Cardinal Laurenti's decline of the Papacy. Let us again compare it with the Canon Law as expressed by the Constitution *Vacante Sede Apostolica*.

One of the most ancient and most strictly observed laws concerning any ecclesiastical elections is that nobody can vote for himself. A vote cast by any elector for himself is null and void. To have thirty-six valid votes, therefore, it was necessary to make sure that Cardinal Laurenti had not voted for himself. The Canon Law prescribes the method of procedure for this eventuality. The Constitution *Vacante Sede Apostolica* says (No. 75): *Si invenerint aliquem ex nominatis duas tantum partes suffragiorum obtinuisse, aperient electi schedulam (quam ex sigillis et signis ab ipso electo hoc in casu manifestandis cognoscent), etiam in ea parte in qua est nomen eligentis; et si quidem ex ea apparuerit electum alii suffragatum fuisse, electio ejus est canonica; si vero constiterit sibi suffragium dedisse, ejus electio nulla erit ob defectum unius suffragii.* (If they find that anyone has received just exactly two-thirds of the votes, they will open his ballot [which they will discover by means of his seal and his signs, which in this case he must indicate]; they will open that part of the ballot also which contains his name. And if it becomes clear that he has voted for somebody else, his election is canonical; but if he has given his vote to himself, the election is null and void, because it lacks one vote.)

This most important regulation is entirely ignored in the report furnished by Mr. Morgan. There were certainly thirty-five valid votes, but one was a doubtful one, because it might have been cast by Cardinal Laurenti himself. All the cardinals knew what the law prescribed for such a case. Yet our report does not give the slightest hint that they did anything at all. As soon as the thirty-six ballots were counted, the matter was settled for them. It is impossible to impute so gross a violation of an almost fundamental law to such a corona of princes of the Church, all and each of whom had before the beginning of the conclave taken a solemn oath to carry out *inviolabiliter et ad unguem*, (inviolately and most exactly), anything contained in the Constitution *Vacante Sede Apostolica* (No. 11, a). We must therefore either accuse the whole august body of the cardinals of a most serious violation of their sworn duty, or declare Mr. Morgan's report a questionable piece of imaginative writing. We choose the latter. The elective action as de-

scribed by him, with a monsignor present in the hall and acting as secretary, and above all with the entire elective body of the cardinals failing to carry out a strictly prescribed measure, never happened. His testimony is worthless.

The History Prelectio

W. B. Faherty, S. J., M. A.

Campion

THE *Prelectio*, a summary and explanation of, or an introduction to, the succeeding lesson, is rapidly gaining popularity not only in foreign language courses, but also in the history class. Its purpose is both to stimulate interest, and to clarify the difficulties that arise in every lesson. High school history teachers are aware of the trouble the average American pupil encounters in finding the core of a lesson, in understanding unfamiliar expressions, in separating the essential points from the non-essential.

Text-book writers in the past concluded each chapter with a summary of the main points—a good practice, indeed. A step in the opposite direction is the introductory summary to each unit in a new book in use at many Catholic high schools.¹ The author of this book prefaces each chapter with a few comprehensive sentences which he calls "major understandings." Thus the student views the whole before studying the individual parts that compose the picture.

But we are starting at the second lap. The first is a *prelectio* to the whole course, which the teacher can give in this way: Summarize the whole course in about a dozen sentences, such as: 1) English colonists (Protestants, for the most part) settled along the Atlantic coast (1607—); while the French (Catholics) occupied Canada and the Mississippi Valley (1608—); 2) A long series of wars between these two countries (1689-1763) ended in English victory; France lost its territory in America. Such procedure will insure the correct understanding of the main facts of the phase of American history, and will provide a framework on which the pupil can build his historical knowledge.

For the second step, the *prelectio* on the individual chapter, the users of texts like the one mentioned above will find the main points well selected; others will have to make their own summary. But this summary of the main facts of each chapter is only part of the work. Each section will offer novel terms for explanation, new territorial situations for map study. This *prelectio* should consume a full period.

Just as important as the above two, is the individual class *prelectio*, which should fill the last ten minutes of each period. Too often the final bell catches the teacher in the midst of the day's lesson. There is a hurried assignment, and then dismissal, with little thought for the next day. This carelessness leads to poor preparation on the part of the student. But the practice of giving a *prelectio*, if rigidly adhered to, will eliminate this difficulty.

The teacher can extend his ingenuity in seeking diversity of presentation. Some of the means he can employ,

¹ S. K. Wilson, *American History*.

—means which the writer of this paper has found satisfactory—are: 1) An overview of the matter; 2) A pupil-made outline under guidance; 3) The reading of the individual paragraph headings (which are in dark print in most texts) and perhaps the initial sentence of each paragraph; 4) An account of the results of a particular period, in order to arouse the curiosity of the students; for instance, a *prelectio* to the period in American History between 1848 and 1861 might be somewhat as follows: In the Mexican War Northerners and Southerners fought side by side; in 1861 they stood divided, ready to shed each others' blood. What happened in the intervening period to bring about this change? 5) Emphasis on the importance of a particular period in order to capture the pupils' interest: a *prelectio* on Luther's revolt might be given by pointing out the effect that revolt had on the subsequent history of Europe—the scission of Christendom, the international rivalries, the wars that

followed in its wake. 6) A picture of what might have occurred (as Belloc delights in doing) to excite the pupils' imagination; this might be a good method to use when introducing the Battle of Tours or the repulsion of the Crescent from Constantinople. The method of presenting the *prelectio* must be in accord with the written assignment, especially when the work to be done is of an unusual nature.

To conclude then, I might repeat some general thoughts: The *Prelectio* is a summary, an explanation and an introduction; it includes the explanation of the meaning of new words; it is the occasion on which to point out significant places on the map, to connect one period, or one current of development with another, to arouse interest in men and places. The *prelectio* has been proved to be of immense help to both pupil and teacher.

Between Wars: A Few Recent Books

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DURING the past summer the writer weakened to the extent of offering a course in recent history. Naturally, in this twenty-fifth year since the barbaric outbreak of 1914 considerable interest was shown in persons, scenes and events which a few, at least, of the class could remember. That interest would, no doubt, be heightened if the course were repeated in the current semester. But the historian must feel a certain reluctance when he has to lead his audience through the still unfiltered, unsettled distortions, guesses and half-truths of the near past. There is, of course, some satisfaction in the storing up of factual data of doubtful value. The real benefit should be derived, however, from forced exercise of the critical faculty.

My first assignment during the summer session sent the students to the early volumes of *Current History* (which began in the first year of the War). Each student was to read and report upon five articles of his own choice. One or two of the more sophisticated members of the class preferred other sources, since the reading of *Current History* begot only confusion. But this was, oddly enough, the purpose behind the assignment. Factual knowledge was a secondary objective. Those who know the story of treaties, ententes, alliances, pacts, axes and what not of the past two decades are in a better position to understand the world today. But those who have learned by experience to defend themselves against the printed page are better educated. Intelligence, in varying degrees, is required for the reading of anything from a war bulletin to a printed book. Between these extremes we have the newspaper and the periodical. Obviously, one should find the book more dependable than the ephemeral type of literature. But paradoxically, those who most need the guidance of reliable books are least likely to look beyond the daily press.

A dozen volumes, all dealing with the interlude between the world wars, have come to the editorial desk for review. One of these, *Documents and Readings in the History of Europe Since 1918*, by Walter Consuelo

Langsam (Lippincott. \$3.75.), is an excellent selection of sources, good, bad and indifferent, from which the reader may draw his own picture of the peaceful years of preparation for the present war. No set of documents is self-explanatory, much less fool-proof. A tyro can learn much that is not true, even from the clear statement of objective facts. But when one is dealing with clever diplomats who let out the truth only, as it were, by accident there is need of critical acumen at all times. In this source-book it was necessary to include impartially the vicious propaganda of Red Spain along with the sober pronouncements of honest officials in Spain and elsewhere; the show-case constitution of Red Russia along with the truly admirable constitution of Christian Eire. The compiler and his able assistant, James Michael Eagan, have done a fine, though not final nor flawless job which deserves the attention of teachers and general readers.

Two very readable books, which can be recommended with some reservation, are: *The Postwar World, 1918-1939*, by J. Hampden Jackson (Little, Brown. \$3.00) and *Twenty Years' Armistice, 1918-1938*, by William Orton (Farrar & Rinehart. \$1.90.). Mr. Jackson covers the wider field, with a consequent less intimate knowledge of detail. Somewhere, I have read a review in which he was gently chided for confusing two different presidential elections in which the name of Alfred E. Smith was to the fore. And quite rightly, the accuracy of his account of conditions beyond the reviewer's control was questioned. Orton calls Mgr. Seipel a "devoted and hard-working Jesuit,"—a misstatement which will irritate neither Seipel nor the Jesuits! About all any reviewer can do, aside from registering general impressions, is to test both of these authors for objectivity in the treatment of a few selected points. An ardent partisan of Nationalist Spain, for example, might disagree violently with either book, where a calmer historian would more readily excuse a slip or two. Or again, there is lack of appreciation of the deadly character of pagan Commu-

nism, which Jackson would pass off as a mere "ideological" difference. Both books will be read with profit. They will be skimmed through rapidly rather than reserved for reference.

Another brace of books of similar content but unequal value are: Guy Stanton Ford's symposium, *Dictatorship in the Modern World* (University of Minnesota Press. \$3.50.), and Hans Kohn's *Revolutions and Dictatorships* (Harvard University Press. \$3.50.). In the former President Ford edits the contributions of fourteen selected scholars, and of course assumes an editor's responsibility. Of the contributors some speak with greater authority than others. But the treatment of the general topic is pleasingly even throughout the book. Nor need the reader balance the protagonist of one extreme against the protagonist of another. In an essay of twenty or thirty pages a writer will leave much unsaid. On the other hand, we have found little in the way of objectionable statement. The book should have a place in any library.

With Doctor Kohn it is easy to coast along over considerable stretches. But in almost any chapter the reader is likely to come to a sudden halt. Then the realization dawns that the author is decidedly one-sided in his attitude toward dictators. His tenderness for the Russian variety is in marked contrast to his pink dislike for Fascism and all its relations. His analysis of the origins of present trouble is often penetrating. But he likes too many things that look like poison to us. And for a man who has written so prolifically about our diseased society, he is strangely blind to the deeper significance of the struggle against chaos.

Two books on Fascist Italy may be disposed of in a paragraph. *The Corporate State in Action*, by Carl T. Schmidt (Oxford University Press. \$2.25.), is a scholarly study by a competent authority of the workings of the Italian government. The study, though brief, is rich in direct quotation. But with all its display of solid erudition, it betrays a consistent dislike for Fascism. This dislike is on the surface, and it is honest. The reader will make his own corrections. Directly the opposite to Dr. Schmidt's indictment of Mussolini's creation is the bi-lingual symposium, *Fascist Europe*, edited by Erminio Turcotti (Salesian Press. Milan. \$1.00.). The ideal of Signor Turcotti and of his collaborators from many nations is a "Christian Fascist Europe." This collection of short panegyrics of this and that is frankly meant to serve propaganda purposes. As such, it is one-sided. But there is a wholesome enthusiasm running through it, and it will help to counteract anti-Fascist excesses,—if it is read in the right circles.

In *Sweden: a Modern Democracy on Ancient Foundations*, by Nils Herlitz (University of Minnesota Press. \$2.00.), a Stockholm professor gives us a short, but adequate discussion of a democracy that is democratic up to a point, and at the same time seems to possess a government that governs. As in England, medieval traditions have survived long periods of eclipse under absolute kings and powerful rich men, whose robbery and persecution of the Church in no way perturbs the author.

Little Portugal is one of the rare bright spots in a troubled world. This *Estado Novo* under the able leadership of Oliveira Salazar, the silent, strong, unselfish

"man from nowhere" has been an inspiration and a model for resurgent Spain, and should incite the emulation of other lands. The story of the heroic struggle of the new state out of the degradation of its "Liberal" Masonic days is briefly told by Michael Derrick in *The Portugal of Salazar* (Campion Books, Ltd. \$2.00.). This is the story of one man's ascetic devotedness to the daily grind of restoring self-respect and moderate prosperity to a bankrupt and despondent country. He has erected a political regime which is not a Fascist state, not a totalitarian state, not a party state, but the corporate state of the great Encyclicals. One skeptical student has told the reviewer "the story is too good to be true." Derrick's account does read like a panegyric. He could have insisted more on the hard living conditions in a land where there is still much poverty, and thereby heightened the appeal of his hero. This book is wholesome reading.

It will seem a bit ironical to present our readers with a 1939 version of Emmanuel Kant's *Perpetual Peace* (Columbia University Press. \$1.00.). But when this voice of the Koenigsberg sage was given its up-to-the-minute dress a few months ago there was still hope that reason or fear or whatever humanitarian sentiment has supplanted Christian charity might hold the dogs of war in leash. Nicholas Murray Butler, in his introduction, recommends that his friends at Geneva read and study Kant's "Zum Ewigen Frieden." One might be tempted to remark that those who listen to Kant will do nothing about it, while those who do things have no time for Kant. We have always had due respect for the great mind of Kant with its queer kinks. The philosopher is, in fact, a major architect of the great, sad, muddled "progress" which is blasting itself to bloody shreds not far from his old home. Still, the booklet under review is a document, and a copy of it should be in the school library.

Editorials (Continued)

(Continued from page ten)

to a high spiritual ideal against the obvious materialism of the Marxist and the more subtle materialism of the Liberal. But the spiritual drappings of the Nazi (and of the Fascist as well) are merely so much window-dressing. What Mr. Oakeshott wants is a clear recognition of the difference between the system (or the ideology) which hands over society to the arbitrary will of a Leader or a Party and the system which respects the fundamental rights of human beings. This respect the Catholic philosopher has always had, and the Liberal has always preached. We discern a gleam of hope in the floating, illogical, "evolving" attitude of Liberalism, and also in the practical admission of limitations on the part of Mussolini. All five doctrines need the balanced sanity which only the Catholic philosophy has. We like to think the excesses of Stalin and Hitler will generate a disposition on the part of Liberals and Fascists to move in the direction of the now revitalized *philosophia perennis*.

By the death of Father Laurence K. Patterson on June 14 THE BULLETIN lost a faithful friend. He was an enthusiastic teacher and a scholar whose ability as a writer gave promise of a brilliant future. R. I. P.

The Character of the Medieval Universities

(Continued from page six)

erale did not necessarily have faculties in all these subjects; one higher faculty sufficed.

In view of the above discussion, one might venture to say that the medieval *studium generale* was a place of study open to all,¹³ and empowered to grant besides the ordinary degree in arts, a higher degree in at least one of the advanced subjects, theology, canon or civil law, or medicine. Making no distinction among students, as to race, culture, or national character, the medieval university was a universal organization which, in its search for truth, was willing to benefit from the learning and talent of any man. Consequent on this was the development of that universalism, which Gilson has described as so important in the medieval society.¹⁴ The university world of the Middle Ages was international, and cultural traits that tended to separate one group from another were broken down in the new "super-nation" dedicated to truth. The Englishmen, Germans, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Hungarians, Swedes, Italians, and so forth, in attendance at the University of Paris could well repeat those words of Tertullian:

Unam omnem rempublicam agnoscimus mundum.

II

The authority behind the university and its degree should receive some treatment in this discussion. It is best understood in view of the medieval concept of truth and its custodianship. However truth may be conceived today, it was for the Middle Ages a profoundly unified thing. Since all the various examples of truth were in reality but manifestations of a single truth, there was no disagreement possible in matters of truth. God was the author of all truth. For the medieval philosopher there were two sets of truths, each of which had its own set of principles. The one was human and depended on human intellection. The other was a divine revelation and essentially above the powers of man's intellect to know unless it is revealed to him. In the natural order each man enjoyed the first principles of intellection, through which he came to a knowledge of life and its meaning. In the supernatural order, in the order of revealed truth, he depended for his enlightenment and development on another.

The revealed truths fundamental to faith were left in sacred trust to the Church. That this revelation be maintained free from all error, the Head of Christendom was promised infallible support from Christ Himself. The Pope was the Teacher of the Christian People. But the faith was a ferment, and had to spread itself through society. It was the apostolic privilege of the Pope to see that mankind received the enlightenment of the Gospel. Yet, in the normal course of events, the faith demanded for its full appreciation and comprehension a trained intellect. Whence the great interest of the Church in education in general.

The dark centuries after the disappearance of Rome made any systematic education impossible. With the ad-

vent of the barbaric hordes the mere fundamentals of order and civilization had to be saved. With the return of peace, the Church turns to education through the development of the monastic system and the work of the missionaries. The intellectual apostolate of the Irish monks, the rise of the cathedral schools, the extension of education in the great monasteries, manifest the continued interest of the Church in the spread of truth. Fulda, Bec, Monte Cassino, and Tours become centers of education. Finally with the passing of the agrarian civilization of the ninth to eleventh centuries and the rise in town life, the scene is set for the foundation of the university, that unparalleled institution where Christian thought manifests its wealth of vitality and hardiness. In the university circle all truth received encouragement; for truth however it manifested itself was it not born of the Word of God?

This was the reasoning that made the pope the final authority in education. All centers of education ultimately received their approval from him, and in view of his approval great privileges that made them autonomous and independent of local ecclesiastical and secular authority. From a doctrinal point of view in these institutions, where clerics received their education, it was salutary that the Holy See interested itself in the protection of the teaching of the Church. Nor should one lose sight of the fact that fundamentally the great universities were conceived of as strongholds of the faith and bulwarks of the Christian thought of the West. In the words of Janssen the universities "were to serve for the protection and propagation of the faith,"¹⁵ and even the Emperor Frederick I, in his letters to the students of Bologna, insists that the end of their study in the university is "that the world be enlightened to the obedience of God."¹⁶

The need for some ultimate authority in education is manifest also from a legal point of view. According to the medieval conception the *studium generale* was a *societas publica*, an organization rendering public service, and as such could only be authorized by some superior authority—"societas publica non potest constitui nisi ex superioris auctoritate."¹⁷ The erection of general centers of education drawing upon all Christendom for their students and granting a degree recognized everywhere could only be done in the name of a universal authority in education. In the words of Saint Thomas the idea is put briefly: "Ordinare de studio pertinet ad eum qui praeest reipublicae, et praecipue ad auctoritatem apostolicae sedis, qua universalis ecclesia gubernatur, cui per generale studium providetur."¹⁸ Denifle expresses the same argument: "The real motive, which induced parties interested in the foundation of general *studia* to appeal to the pope, was the conviction that the pope was the highest authority, and the Father and Teacher of Christendom."¹⁹

Some writers have given the impression that the medi-

¹³ J. Janssen, *History of the German People at the Close of the Middle Ages*, London, 1905, I, 87.

¹⁶ D. C. Munro, *Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History*, Philadelphia, 1894, II, no. 3.

¹⁷ Saint Thomas Aquinas, *Contra Impugnantes Religionem*, c. 3.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Denifle, *Universitäten*, I, 780.

¹³ Denifle, *Universitäten*, I, 21.

¹⁴ Gilson, "Medieval Universalism and Its Present Value," in *Independence, Convergence, and Borrowings in Institutions, Thought, and Art*, Cambridge, USA, 1937.

eval popes were continually grasping for power in education where previously they enjoyed none. History scarcely bears out such an interpretation. What education there had been in northern Europe from the year 500 on was, as has been seen, the result of the activity of the Church, whose monks and missionaries spread the first *lueurs* of learning among the barbaric people of the North. Throughout all the Christian centuries the popes had shown themselves the defenders of education. They insisted on the establishment of the cathedral schools. They fought local ecclesiastical authority desirous of making education a source of diocesan revenue. They insisted on the right of the scholar to teach without having to pay for a license. Finally the universities themselves received from no other quarter the encouragement and protection received from the Papacy. What would have been the fate of the University of Paris, for example, with its internal dissension, its theological and philosophical feuds, its difficulties with the secular power, and its secular-mendicant controversies, had not the popes unceasingly protected and directed the university to a position of ultimate success?

In the case of the universities *ex consuetudine*, those universities without any formal decree of foundation, like Paris and Bologna, and with a beginning back in some far distant past, it may be more difficult to perceive the direct action of the popes in their foundation. Yet in the encouragement and protection afforded professors, through benefices put at their disposal, through the able direction and surveillance lest doctrine be contaminated, even during this period it becomes apparent that the popes manifested continued solicitude for the state of learning. On the complete organization of university centers this support and encouragement becomes far more apparent. Of the forty-four universities founded in Europe up to 1400, thirty-one received their foundation bull directly from the pope. When the Protestant Revolt finally broke over Europe, the greatest defenders of the popes were the universities.

Strictly speaking only the pope had the right to found a general *studium* whose degree would be recognized everywhere. It was the accepted practice however that the Emperor could exercise this right, since he was the protector of the Church, and wielded, theoretically, at least, universal lay authority. Yet even he could not found a theological faculty without the permission of the Holy See, who also enjoyed a veto power regarding other foundations made by the Emperor.²¹ A king could found a university only after having received either papal or imperial authorization.²² A bishop could act only with the approval of the pope. It is concluded therefore that the pope held complete authority in matters dealing with the university. Yet this remark of Wood, writing on education in Tudor England, may well be borne in mind by those who have visions of papal authoritarianism in university education: "Though before the Reformation," he writes, "the pope, as supreme authority in the Church, had certain powers over the universities, many of these were never exercised, and though many university privi-

leges were directly papal in origin, yet royal influence was much more in evidence than papal."²³

That education in a kingdom should be under the control of the Papacy caused the princes of that territory no uneasiness. Nor did they look upon such a state of affairs as an encroachment on their supreme authority. The totalitarian state is a modern invention. In the Middle Ages the realms of papal, imperial, and royal authority were quite clearly defined. Rarely was there a desire on the part of the temporal prince to interfere with the apostolic prerogatives of the Father of Christendom.²⁴ When pope and ruler clashed, it was the kingdom and Christendom that suffered, so they preferred to pursue a policy of reconciliation which alone worked for progress and better understanding. They beheld in history ruinous and telling examples of the havoc wrought in countries through the lack of cooperation between prince and pope. The university system in the Germanies, for example, was retarded over two hundred years by the lay-investiture quarrels, and, when initiated, never attained the perfection of that of either France, England, or Italy.²⁵ The Empire could have profited well from the genius of an Otto of Freising, of a Conrad, or an Absolon of Springirsbach, or a Rupert, to name but a few of that galaxy of German scholars who cast renown on Paris and Chartres during the twelfth century.²⁶ Disorder made it impossible for them to work at home. German scholars looked upon France as a haven of peace, free from the unending controversies between Emperor and pope that sapped the intellectual vigor of the Germanies.

As the development of man demands the mutual assistance of his material and spiritual powers, so in the medieval conception of society the temporal and the spiritual supplemented each other. The modern finds it difficult to comprehend such a situation for he instinctively regards systems of authority as mutually exclusive, intolerant the one of the other. Such would certainly be the case did they exercise their authority on the same plane and in the same domain. In the medieval idea of order the pope and the prince occupied different strata in the hierarchy of authority; for this reason, it has been said, the medieval jurist had to be at the same time a lawyer and a metaphysician. On consideration it became apparent that in most instances the authority of the prince and the pope was clearly defined as to spheres of activity, but, on occasion there did remain a light-dark region which neither on first analysis could claim for himself. Good judgment had to determine priority of claim. The fact must not be lost sight of that, fundamental to all legal and social codes in medieval society, there existed that spirit of the true Christian life, without an understanding of which there is no penetration into the affairs of the Middle Ages.²⁷

III

The degree granted a student who had successfully completed a course in one of the branches of learning

²³ N. Wood, *The Reformation and English Education*, London, 1931, 88.

²⁴ Denifle, *Universitäten*, I, 780.

²⁵ D'Irsay, *Histoire des Universités*, I, 46.

²⁶ Budinszky, *Die Universität Paris und die Fremden an derselben im Mittelalter*, Berlin, 1876, 16.

²⁷ Denifle, *Universitäten*, I, 795.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Denifle, *Universitäten*, I, 783.

²² *Ibid.*, 769-770.

at the *studium generale* was the *jus ubique docendi*. It allowed the new doctor or master the right to teach everywhere without previous examination. The authority behind the degree was the same as that behind the university, itself, namely, the Holy See, exercising its prerogative of Teacher of Universal Christendom. Some writers on the medieval university, like Thurot²⁸ and Rait,²⁹ have attached so much importance to the degree that they have named it the essential note of the university's character. In reality, the degree appears more as a consequence of the universal and official approbation given the general *studium* by the pope. The degree at Paris, for instance, was always bestowed in the name of the apostolic authority, *auctoritate apostolica*, and allowed its possessor to teach *hic et ubique terrarum*.³⁰ No chancellor, no bishop, no ruler could prohibit a doctor of one of the great universities from teaching, and on occasions of ceremony the doctor took precedence over a bishop, if the latter was not himself a doctor.³¹ In the beginning of university history the degree or license to teach had been a local privilege,³² but with the complete organization of the *studia* and their recognition by the Papacy, the degree after the end of the twelfth century became universal.

The distinction of the university degree created a new aristocracy during the Middle Ages, an aristocracy not based on birth or social position but on intellectual attainment. The trained scholars of the university were "internationals," and members of this new society of learned men which knew no geographical boundaries or cultural limits. In the common language of the schools they had a medium of exchange that greatly facilitated contact with one another. They enjoyed great privileges and immunities. They were protected by the greatest power in European society, the papacy, and were consulted in important matters of state and church. A special ceremony was attached to the bestowal of the degree which made these men "knights of science." In many respects the ceremony was similar to that used in the conferring of knighthood. There was the vigil, the bath, the ring and the crowning, and as knighthood could be won only by deeds and valor, and not inherited, so the doctoral degree was bestowed only for proven intellectual superiority. It was given to anyone who after the years of training in the schools could pass the all-searching examination of the faculty. To protect the sacredness of the medieval degree the university often appealed to the pope against chancellors and bishops desirous of making it an honorary thing. The instance of Ferrand, the brother of the King of Aragon, is typical. The rector of the University of Paris appealed to the authority of the Holy See to stop Philip, the Chancellor of Paris, from conferring the degree on the prince *without previous examination*.³³ Ferrand did not receive his degree. The autonomy and independence of the new union of scholars

are proved by many instances in medieval history.

In conclusion, therefore, the fundamental notes of the medieval *studium generale* were universalism, papal approbation, and power to grant a degree recognized throughout all Christian lands. Through its universalism, it was open to students from every land, and dedicated to the unity of truth. Through the authority of the pope, it was confirmed a public institution, rendering a fundamental service to the society of its day. Finally, as a consequence of its universal character, and the papal approbation, its degrees were valid for all Christendom. In these three points the character of the medieval university may be summed up. As native to the times in which it rose as were gothic architecture, the crusades, or the corporate spirit of medieval society, it was a manifestation of all that was good and bad in medieval intellectualism. It has made profound contributions to its modern descendants in the field of learning, but without an understanding of the profound character of medieval life itself, it remains an interesting, but quite incomprehensible thing.

Recent Americana

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THE new editions of Bassett¹ and Beard² will probably receive favorable reviews on all sides. Bassett is a classic old standby which has served a long and useful life on many a collegiate campus. The new third edition, the work of Richard H. Bassett, commends itself chiefly for the fact that the original format of the book has been left untouched. The book is something of a Ploetz, with convenient marginal notes, concise statements, good bibliographical material and an excellent index. The new editor has brought the text up-to-date in a more or less satisfactory manner. The new edition is a bulky affair which is rapidly becoming a reference work. But a good reference work is not to be spurned even though it still wishes to be treated as a textbook.

The eighth edition of Beard's *American Government and Politics* offers few changes, except that it is brought up to date. The New Deal is supported, administrative instruments of our government are given perhaps a more detailed study, and more attention is given to state and local governmental matters. Beard's following will probably again laud his clear writing and careful analysis. He has produced a good book with few objectionable features.

The present reviewer feels that *The Growth of American Democracy*³ is out of focus. The authors have a thesis which they overwork. They have tried to produce an interesting book which is, as it were by the way, a history of the United States. They want to teach students about American Democracy and they would like to do the teaching as painlessly as possible. They begin by asserting that democracy basically means "equal oppor-

²⁸ Thurot, *De l'Organisation de l'Enseignement dans l'Université de Paris au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1850, 11.

²⁹ R. Rait, *Life in the Medieval University*, Cambridge, 1918.

³⁰ K. A. Schmid, ed., *Geschichte der Erziehung vom Anfang an bis auf unsere Zeit*, Berlin, 1884-1902, II, pt. i, 480.

³¹ Denifle (*Universitäten*, I, 773, n. 52) quoting Walter of Chateau-Thierry.

³² Denifle, *Universitäten*, I, 772.

³³ *Chart. Univ. Paris.*, I, no. 503.

¹ *A Short History of the United States, 1492-1938*, by John Spencer Bassett. New York. Macmillan. 1939. pp. 1039. \$4.00.

² *American Government and Politics*, by Charles A. Beard. New York. Macmillan. 1939. pp. 814. \$3.75.

³ *The Growth of American Democracy*, by Jeannette P. Nichols and Roy F. Nichols. New York. D. Appleton-Century Co. 1939. pp. 819. \$4.00.

tunity." For some 800 pages they try to squeeze equal opportunity into our national boundaries. Then they end by admitting that the experiment in "equality" hasn't been an unqualified success, but that we can always start over again. It's a debatable question whether we ever did have an "experiment" in progress; if we did, we should try to see where our technique failed. Experiments presume hypothetical assertions, which in this case would be the basic principles of our Constitution. That those principles are considered "theories" indicates an attitude of mind in an author which would at once eliminate his work as a text-book.

Is the "experiment in democracy" to be tried over again with new hypotheses? And if so, what would those be? It would appear to the reviewer that the Constitution fits neatly with the precepts of the Natural Law. The technique is wrong, not the "experiment."

Homer C. Hockett's new book⁴ is the first of three works on the Constitution. He calls this book, in a subtitle, *The Blessings of Liberty*. And he sticks to his last fairly well. Teachers of Constitutional History are going to welcome this book. McLaughlin is scholarly, but too deep for college students. The other handbooks have not been too successful. Hockett writes well, he explains simply and clearly, and he gives sufficient references to spur on the reader, yet not enough to weary the student. The book should be popular. It deserves attention and use. It might not be out of place here to congratulate the author on his consistently fine work. He has a feeling for student needs, but he never fails to be the scholar.

Thompson and Jones have made an effort to write objectively. They have added a section of documents to their book⁵ which will be found quite useful. The selections are good and their position in the book was well chosen. Nearly half of the book is given over to their documents. They have so indexed the work that no confusion will arise in using both sections of the book. Every Economic History of our country has its objectionable features. The professional historian always feels that economic histories slight other features of national life. The authors draw the long bow now and then, but none too often. They try to be fair with their subject and succeed quite well.

Ina Faye Woestermeyer has collected together into one book⁶ a good selection of documents for the use, it seems of high school students. The idea is good. There are innumerable small schools which simply cannot afford to buy larger works nor are their students near libraries sufficiently large to offer great collections. Those who use this book will give their pupils a smattering of the west and a taste for more. The selections cover a wide range. She includes DeSmet's *Oregon Missions*, materials on education, humorous social side lights, a bit on the Populists, in fact a little piece of almost everything. The author has no axe to grind; she is simply producing a neat piece of collected frontier cake and it will attract readily.

Roman History and Latin Classics

Richard L. Porter, S. J.

ONE of the greatest practical difficulties of the Latin teacher in high school and the first two years of college is how to make his subject really "humane." Too often these six years are merely years of forms, paradigms and rules, the monotonous "turning" of the stubborn Latin into English and vice versa. Undoubtedly there is a mental sharpening in this process, but it may be questioned whether there is much "mental enlargement."

The high school boy should study Latin grammar because he wants to read Latin literature; he should want to read Latin literature because he wants to associate with the great Romans of antiquity. It is thus, by living with great men and becoming familiar with their ideas, by contemplating their great deeds (and their shortcomings!), by witnessing the course of empire, its rise, struggles and decline, that our minds are enlarged.

Let us face the problem squarely. In first-year high the boy has his Latin grammar course and his Roman history course. From the latter he should learn to know and appreciate Roman life, Roman ideals and Roman deeds. There is more than enough material here to fire his imagination, his sense of great things, and his desire to know more about the "greats" of ancient Rome. His first real contact with Rome can be made here, and here he should evince his first thin ray of appreciation. The next three, five, or more years of his Latin course should then be years of the pursuit and development of this appreciation. "Grammar chopping" is a skill eagerly and quickly acquired when it is the *means* and not the *end* of the study of Latin.

Let us be frank with ourselves. The Roman history course in first year is rarely taught in this way, and the Latin teacher himself in the next three, five, or more years of the course is also usually remiss in the "hooking up" of the Latin phrase with Roman *life* and history. The reason for this can be found partly in the teacher's own training along the old customary lines, partly in the present course system which segregates the matter to be covered without looking before or after. But a partial solution, it would seem, could be found if a tool were designed to meet conditions as they stand. An outline of Roman history and institutions, handy and crisp but full, something visual which the student could keep throughout his course and about which the Roman history teacher could build his lectures, something which could show the organic growth of Roman life and institutions, and which the student could use after his first year for steady reference, for repetition, for further study, ever to enlarge his understanding and appreciation of things Roman would be such a tool. In this way the Latin classics will prove a real "humanity" in the education of the student.*

⁴ *The Constitutional History of the United States, 1776-1826*, by Homer C. Hockett. New York. Macmillan. 1939. pp. 417. \$3.00.

⁵ *Economic Development of the United States*, by Charles M. Thompson and Fred M. Jones. New York. Macmillan. 1939. pp. 794. \$3.50.

⁶ *The Westward Movement*, by Ina Faye Woestermeyer. New York. D. Appleton-Century Co. 1939. pp. 490. \$2.25.

*A book designed for just this purpose has been written, *An Outline of Roman History: Constitutional, Economic, Social*, by Charles W. Rheinhardt (St. Louis. Herder. 1939. pp. x + 278. \$2.00). It is in strict outline form, arranged according to topics and units, and is divided into sections on constitutional (political and military), economic, and social matters.

Book Reviews

The Development of Political Theory, by Otto von Gierke.
New York. W. W. Norton & Co. 1939. pp. 361.
\$4.00.

Historians as well as students of political thought will welcome this excellent translation of Gierke's well-known monograph which appeared some sixty years ago. Just why the translator chose to change the original title, *Joannes Althusius und die Entwicklung der naturrechtlichen Staatstheorien*, is not explained. Certainly it expresses with far greater accuracy the contents of the book.

In the first part Gierke presents a brief sketch of the life and political doctrines of the half-forgotten juristic theorist who was a contemporary and co-religionist of Hugo Grotius. Althusius is seen to be a scholar of wide learning, but one who was "more clear than deep, more acute than wise." However, he did make a substantial contribution to the history of political theory particularly in the development of his doctrines concerning popular sovereignty and the "Nature-Right" conception of the state. In the second and more valuable part of the work the writer traces the historical origins of these teachings. Here Gierke displays his intimate acquaintance with and thorough grasp of an amazingly large portion of medieval thought in the fields of politics, jurisprudence and philosophy. Convincing evidence is advanced to show that Rousseau, without acknowledgment, borrowed heavily from Althusius. Incidental treatment of scholastic political theorists is usually sympathetic and objective, though the reader will regret the negligible references made to such giant figures as Aquinas and Bellarmine. C. J. RYAN.

Latin America, by F. A. Kirkpatrick. New York. Macmillan. 1939. pp. xi + 456. \$2.80.

This volume gives us much of the old and the new in Latin American historiography. Since there have been many works on the same subject, there is bound to be some repetition. Professor Kirkpatrick has included all that the others have, and has some interesting additions of his own. The volume is certainly a very handy reference book, crammed with factual information. For this reason it makes rather uninteresting general reading.

In make-up it follows the traditional plan of a general survey of pre-revolutionary Latin America, and separate histories of the various sections. The chapter on Texas and California, found in such a history, is one of the "new" things. The chapter of definitions is another. This latter is perhaps the most distinctive feature. In keeping with a recent trend to build up the reputation of the Mexican government, a "new" note, presenting the present regime as humanitarily inclined, sounds a bit flat when one recalls the not so remote treatment of expatriated Spanish children.

Professor Kirkpatrick is fairly free from the indictments leveled against so many historians of Latin America. He neither ignores the Church nor, we believe, deliberately misrepresents it. Yet he does not give us a clue to his real sentiments, preferring rather to quote such writers as Mecham and thus fix responsibility.

The particular merit of the work lies in its comprehensive factual information condensed and presented in one volume. This makes it a very fine text at a very reasonable price.

MARTIN HASTING.

Colbert, and a Century of French Mercantilism, by Charles Woolsey Cole. New York. Columbia University Press. 1939. pp. xii + 532 + 675. \$10.00.

Jean Baptiste Colbert was the highly efficient business manager of Louis XIV. Many factors, it is true, went to make Louis the mightiest monarch of his time and France the leading nation of Europe. But the single contribution of Colbert stands out prominent in any account of the *grand siècle*. During twenty-two years, up to 1683, Colbert built up the prosperity of France. In his able hands lay all the business of getting and spending for the government, except what directly concerned war and foreign diplomacy. War and royal extravagance dissipated his savings, but for a hundred years, thanks largely to him, the nation maintained top rank in the volume of her industry and trade.

But Colbert was more than an administrator. His economic theories have been labeled Colbertism. Many of the ideas which he formulated and applied with considerable success were in the air long before his time. There was Bullionism, both English and French, which called for the increase of national money through government regulation of trade. There was the less

specific term Mercantilism, which widened the sweep of government influence. A generation ago, these economic ideas were still considered antiquated, though the *laissez faire* reaction to them had already spent its force. Now, with the new vogue of economic Nationalism, the world is better able to understand Colbert and to learn from a study of his work. The book under review should find a ready public.

Professor Cole has given us a scholarly treatise which even the layman can read with pleasure. He was well equipped for his task, having produced an earlier monograph, *French Mercantilist Doctrine Before Colbert*, in 1931. He shows a mastery of the immense field of manuscript material, and of the secondary sources as well. His approach is objective enough, and it is certainly cautious. In fact, his tendency to qualify his conclusions strikes one as over-cautious. A cool, almost clammy financier, such as Colbert was, precludes undue enthusiasm. But the story is there, rich in documented fact, and quite readable. The second volume ends, as the first might very well have begun with a definition: *Mercantilism in France means that group of theories, policies, and practices arising from the traditions of the country and the conditions of the time, and upheld and applied by Jean Baptiste Colbert during his years of office, 1661-1683, in his effort to secure for the nation, and for the king who symbolized it, power, wealth, and prosperity.* R. CORRIGAN.

Orestes A. Brownson: A Pilgrim's Progress, by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Boston. Little, Brown and Company. 1939. pp. 320. \$2.50.

This "Pilgrim" had walked a road which seemed to twist most inconsistently. It appeared as if he had pointed now left, now right at every important cross-road. But the key to his wanderings was the Pilgrim's persistent quest for truth. It was his own logic that drove him from position to position until he found in Rome "the security he had sought so long."

Mr. Schlesinger has helped us to understand Brownson. The author handles his material in a masterful way. He has brought to his work not only clearness of mind but sympathy of heart. And the true biographer has always need of both. The book does not answer all the problems connected with this New Englander, but it will serve as an excellent introduction to the man. The critical bibliography the author has included will prove helpful to students. A study, however, that should have been mentioned is, Paul R. Conroy's *Orestes A. Brownson: American Political Philosopher* (Dissertation—St. Louis University, 1937).

Orestes Brownson, philosopher, critic, and political thinker is a forgotten American. He deserves something more than a footnote in reference books by way of epitaph. This biography should stimulate Americans to remember and appreciate the man. The student of American philosophic, political, or literary thought can hardly overlook *A Pilgrim's Progress*.

E. J. DRUMMOND.

A Map of Old English Monasteries and Related Ecclesiastical Foundations, A. D. 400-1066, by Alice M. Ryan. Ithaca, New York. Cornell Univ. Press. 1939. pp. 34. \$1.00.

For an intelligent historian a map is an indispensable necessity, and for all interested in English monasticism of this period, this map of Miss Ryan's should prove a valuable aid, particularly because of the amount of careful research it reveals. The index accompanying the map presents the old and modern names of the site, the county, descriptive name, date of foundation or first available date, dates and names of sources, and references to Dugdale's "Monasticon Anglicanum." Unfortunately, as the author herself admits, Scotland and Wales must await more exhaustive treatment. This is No. XXVIII of the Cornell Studies in English. F. J. ASPENLEITER.

Carter Glass: A Biography, by Rixey Smith and Norman Beasley. New York. Longmans, Green & Co. 1939. pp. xv + 519. \$3.00.

The forty-three years of the public life of Carter Glass have been colored by certain fundamental convictions: the ideal of Jeffersonian Democracy, the necessity of preserving the democratic heritage of the Anglo-Saxon race, and the essentially plutocratic nature of the central bank system. In February, 1933, he three times refused the post of Secretary of the Treasury which

president-elect Roosevelt urged upon him, and up to the present day, he has been the foremost opponent of the monetary implications of the New Deal.

This biography, written by two sympathizers, is something in the nature of an *apologia* and is, for the most part, a synthesis of the Senator's many declarations of conviction, as contained in his speeches and letters. In 1904 he became a member of the House Committee on Banking and Currency, and the book describes his work with this group and its fruition in the Federal Reserve Act with its important historical effects. However, the most interesting chapters are those which express Glass' views on New Deal monetary and banking policies and his work in opposing them. The fact that Roosevelt has virtually changed the Federal Reserve System into a central bank is quite well established from quotations and summaries of a series of discussions. The President's rejection of The Federal Reserve System's role as an accommodation of commerce and his transforming of that system into a "mere agency of the Treasury Department" was one of the principal reasons for the Senator's opposition to the New Deal.

Whether the reader agrees with Mr. Glass or not, he will find this book very valuable in any study of the New Deal's monetary and banking policies. It can serve not only as a source book, but also as a careful expression of the issues as seen by one of Roosevelt's most brilliant opponents.

J. HANLEY.

Hellenic History, by G. W. Botsford. Revised and rewritten by C. A. Robinson, Jr. New York. The Macmillan Company. 1939. pp. xvi + 398. \$4.50.

This book seems to reveal a conspiracy on the part of publisher and authors to make it the best possible one-volume general history of Greece from the beginnings to 146 B. C. Within the 363 pages of text not only the political history is capably sketched but also the evolution of all the phases of Greek civilization down to the Roman conquest. Besides there are seventy-two plates illustrating the best of the Greek artistic life, eight figures and drawings, and seventeen excellent maps. The printing, paper and binding also contribute to make this a beautiful example of the publisher's art.

The only important drawback to this work is its brevity. Stylistically the revision is superior to the original Botsford, but naturally it is a book to be studied rather than read. The main points of Greek history are clearly brought out and buttressed with a wealth of detail which would seem impossible in such small space. All the essential cultural and intellectual details had been carefully and skilfully woven into the general political, economic and social history so as to make this an excellent general work for the classical student. Better and more detailed histories of Greece are available, but in the reviewer's opinion the present volume offers the best 383 pages of Greek history from the Minoan Age to the Roman Conquest now available.

R. L. PORTER.

Roots of Change, by Joseph H. Fichter, S. J. New York. D. Appleton-Century Company. 1939. pp. 319. \$2.50.

Social scientists and leaders of social action must have historical background if their efforts are to be other than superficial. They may attain this knowledge by a study of carefully selected biographical sketches. Fifteen such important biographical sketches have been presented by the author to give us a conspectus of modern social and political history. Beginning with St. Vincent de Paul and the seventeenth century, leaders are selected who are outstanding for "the personality as well as the teaching of the man." The theme that gives unity to the selection is leadership in economic, or social, or political thought and action. But the names, Vincent de Paul, Mandeville, Rousseau, Paine, Owen, Ozanam, Kingsley, von Ketteler, Marx, Manning, Leo XIII, Schurz, Tolstoy and Webb, indicate that there is also diversity of doctrine. The doctrine of adversaries is evaluated before it is rejected.

No pretense is made that the list is complete. Seven other possibilities are mentioned which might have been included. Albert de Mun is mentioned in the sketch of Ozanam. There are other possibilities among the disciples of von Ketteler. But the "roots" of our social changes have been ably and carefully transplanted into the field of American social literature. These important landmarks of social thought are ready for students and apostles of social questions in a very readable and scholarly volume. Social scientists, social workers, and leaders of social action should be acquainted with the book. The book might well be used in courses in social and political history, or in courses in social problems.

The timely value of the work deserves special mention. The story of history will direct the new-born enthusiasm of modern social workers. Likewise, it will make real and vital the sometimes vague theorizing of sociologists. St. Vincent de Paul was "a practical man who saw the immediate necessity for definite remedies in definite circumstances, and he allowed the method and means to shape themselves as the problems presented themselves." At a time when the scientific nature of sociology is still in the formative stage, and when educators are rightly concerned with the methods and means of presenting social doctrine, we must not forget that there have long been dynamic and prudent social leaders who have had social doctrines, and who have carried these social doctrines into action. Some of these personalities have been of service to their fellow men.

WM. G. DOWNING.

Pilgrim Places in North America, by Ralph L. & Henry F. Woods. New York. Longmans, Green & Co. 1939. pp. xxv + 194. \$1.50.

The long lists of distinguished names of those who assisted the authors to prepare this very attractive volume would recommend it regardless of its topic; but to the devout Catholic who takes a summer auto tour the appeal of this subject will—when presented as it is here—prove irresistible. The authors insist that every Catholic church is indeed a shrine, but they recognize (as the faithful have always done) that there are spots upon the earth that have won God's special predilection. It is certainly surprising and inspiring to learn that there are not less than 135 such places near at hand. America begins to be no longer a savage wilderness, but a consecrated nation. These 135 chosen sites are briefly described; in many cases the number of the auto route on which they lie is given. A fine map at the end of the volume locates them all. There are six well chosen illustrations.

L. J. KENNY.

The Papal Conflict with Josephinism, by Sister Mary Clare Goodwin. New York. Fordham University Press. 1938. pp. xiii & 157. \$2.00.

When the son of Maria Theresa undertook to play the part of imperial sacristan he did more than provide in his own person a butt for the wit of Frederick the Great. He summed up in flesh and blood all the flimsy isms of his time. He took "Reason" as the partner of his throne, and made her look ridiculous. His Josephinism was a cross between Gallicanism and Febronianism. It marks a low point in German Catholic life. With the best intentions he bungled everything, and went to his grave with a feeling of defeat and failure.

This book is a survey of the reign of Joseph II. It draws on a vast array of German sources, primary and secondary. And in this its chief merit consists. The bibliography would be more impressive if a few textbooks were eliminated. The book will serve as an excellent synthesis of events and forces arising from the *Aufklärung*.

R. CORRIGAN.

The Constitutional History of Modern Britain, 1485-1937, by D. L. Keir. D. Van Nostrand Co. New York. 1938. pp. viii + 568. \$5.00.

This volume takes up the thread of the constitutional history of England where Professor Joliffe in his *Constitutional History of Medieval England* laid it down. The author imposed on himself two tasks, one of "describing the structure and working of the main organs of government during the successive stages of growth," and the other of "interpreting their evolution with reference to the political and social conditions and the currents of thought and opinion by which it has been determined." His basic philosophy is the rejection of the "catastrophic view of history" and a firm adherence to the belief in continuity. This continuity naturally takes the form of a development in the direction of a golden age of democratic freedom. To that end he rejects the implications of the term "New Monarchy" as applied to the Tudors and Stuarts and stresses the political nature of the change of 1485 while minimising its constitutional significance.

The political expedients of the Commonwealth era, with one or two exceptions, he insists were never discredited but ultimately came to be adopted, and therefore form a part of the stream of thought that has made the English constitution what it is today. When we get to modern times and the ever widening authority of the state over the action of the individual he cites Bradley and Thomas Hill Green to the effect that "where individual enterprise promotes the well-being of the citizen and of society, its creative impulses should be allowed free course,

but where it does not, it should be restrained or supplanted by the action of government itself." He points out the growth of governmental interference in the lives of citizens, especially during and since the World War, but consolingly shows that there are checks on Parliamentary sovereignty. The real danger to democracy, however, lies in delegated legislative power. While it is true that what has been delegated can be revoked there is a danger to freedom in the tendency for law to be laid down by the "arbitrary fiat of officials." Parliament has erected an executive system that in legislative and judicial authority is tending more and more to absorb all the functions of government. Bureaucracy has fastened its teeth upon us. This is a disquieting fact though the author claims that the danger has been exaggerated.

Perhaps we are too close to recent events to see much continuity in inter-imperial relationships since 1926. In fact it is admitted that imperial constitutional progress since 1918 has been rather negative than positive. The confusion existing as a result of the passage of the Statute of Westminster may in time be dissipated by the pressure of political events. Despite the obvious attempt at united action in the case of the abdication of Edward VIII it remains a fact that both Australia and New Zealand have failed to pass laws confirming the Statute of Westminster, while Ireland has pursued its own course with its new constitution and the precedent set by the Privy Council in its decision in *Moore v. the Attorney-General of the Irish Free State*. South Africa too has enacted legislation which has made of the monarchy a mere shadowy abstraction and a situation now exists for which it is difficult to see any solution. A kingship which may have to act on mutually contradictory counsels is truly described as "very near to being an absurdity."

The treatment of religious issues, both under the Tudors and under the Stuarts, is very fair. The book is well-written, and the author has an attractive style. There is an adequate supply of references to supplementary readings though there is no working bibliography. We can recommend the book to all students of English constitutional history. HERBERT H. COULSON.

A German Conscript with Napoleon, edited and translated by Otto Springer. University of Kansas. 1938. pp. 231. \$1.50.

Jakob Walter might have slept with the unnumbered thousands of Napoleon's forgotten soldiers. But this unlettered though intellectually keen German set down his day-to-day experiences in his Swabian dialect, and left the manuscript behind as a family heirloom. In a small town in Kansas, a historian from the State University chanced upon the manuscript. A professor from the Department of German undertook to prepare and edit an English translation, elaborately adorned with footnotes. The University Press has given us a volume in German and English which will satisfy the scholar and entertain the casual reader.

The chronicler lived close to the hard things of life in war-ravaged Europe. All but oblivious of the great world of politics beyond his poor man's horizon, he was a deeply religious soul for whom God was a present reality and for whom suffering had a meaning. His story may not be a notable addition to the vast mass of Napoleonic, but it has a value all its own. It reveals the cost in human misery which the common man had to pay for the ambitions of princes. A major portion of the narrative deals with Napoleon's Russian campaign. R. CORRIGAN.

Jedidiah Morse: A Champion of New England Orthodoxy, by James King Morse. Columbia University Press. 1939. pp. ix + 180. \$2.50.

Here's an old friend in a new suit of clothes. We have long been familiar with Jedidiah, the "Father of American Geography," but we never knew what a good soul he was. Is there any other source book of American history so juicy and so satisfying as "An Abridgment of the American Gazetteer . . . , printed in Boston, 1798?" There you read "Baltimore, 4th city. Pop. 13,503, 1,255 slaves." "D'Etroit; pop. (1778) 2,000. Roman Catholic church." But look at this one: "Gres, Cap au. A promontory, 8 leagues above the Illinois River. If settlements were begun here, the Spanish (St. Louis) would be abandoned." Melawaska in the n. e. part of Maine would puzzle you, until you observed Madawaska now in New Brunswick which was once thought to be this side of the line. Philadelphia, with its 9,000 houses and its "No less than 662 lamps of 2 branches each, lighted every night, . . . and consuming annually 9,000 gallons of oil," is Jedidiah's delight.

But what of Jedidiah's orthodoxy, the subject of the book before us? New England was losing its faith in the divinity of

our Lord, and in the Trinity; Harvard College had gone the way of all flesh. Jedidiah stood like a new Athanasius for the Presbyterian Christianity with adamant firmness, and was among those who originated Andover Seminary as a fortress of that fragment of the true faith that had come down to him. The present volume tells the story of that struggle, tells it clearly and documents every statement. L. J. KENNY.

Owatonna: The Social Development of a Minnesota Community, by Edgar B. Wesley. Minneapolis. University of Minnesota Press. 1938. pp. xvi + 168. \$2.00.

This book concretely and minutely portrays the social, industrial, political, cultural, educational, and municipal development of Owatonna, "a Minnesota community," and might well be studied to substantiate the generalities of the several histories of the State of Minnesota.

Anyone who has lived in a town of similar size will, by reading this book, read the history of his own local community. Daily life in Owatonna was and is a municipal affair. As the author states, a town such as Owatonna has what might be called a soul, which is the municipal spirit and the source of unity existing among the inhabitants. If you wish to understand this town and its spirit, you must do more than merely pass through, you must dwell there. The people of Owatonna will be grateful to Dr. Wesley for his scholarly and interesting work.

W. HARRIS.

The Spirit of French Canada, A Study of the Literature, by Ian Forbes Fraser. New York. Columbia University Press. 1939. pp. 219. \$2.75.

St. Denis, A French-Canadian Parish, by Horace Miner. Chicago. University of Chicago Press. pp. xix + 283. \$3.00.

The wealth of French-Canadian historiography would lead one to believe that Canada's rich store of historical material had long since been exhausted. But the advent of these two scholarly contributions to Canadiana point to latent possibilities bright with promise. Although independently initiated, one book acts as a complement to the other. The first study by Ian Forbes Fraser of Columbia University focuses attention "on the parallel between the theme of national inspiration in the literature and the unifying elements in French Canadian civilization." The second, by Horace Miner of Chicago University, localizes these elements in "an examination of the history of the whole ethnic group and through the intensive analysis of the culture of a single parish, St. Denis de Kamouraska."

The Spirit of French Canada is a study of French Canadian literature since 1850. It treats of Canadian national spirit and the unifying forces which have at once been the source of that spirit and the inspiration of its literary expression. A conscious cultural resistance has been built up among French Canadians during a one hundred seventy-five year struggle to retain their racial identity. The burden of this defense has been borne, according to the author, by the publicists and the men of letters. Using the five unifying factors as chapter headings, Professor Fraser presents in graceful style the literature inspired by each of these basic elements: pride in race, devotion to the mother country, the Catholic Church, the French language, and the cult of the soil.

The book reflects a sympathetic understanding of the thorough Catholicity of Canadian culture. The author attaches great importance to the work of the priests in holding firm the racial bond. He declares that the French Canadians are one of the world's most moral races, that divorce is practically unknown, that crime of any kind is rare; and that this achievement is due to "the faithful adherence to religious principles—in this case, to those of the Catholic Church."

St. Denis, a French Canadian Parish, is a sociological survey of French Canadian peasant society undertaken by the author during a year's residence in this long-established community. His investigation lay, not only in the history of the old rural French Canadian culture and the social structure of the society, but in the consideration of changes due to urbanization and anglicization, which are critically analyzed in the last chapter.

Throughout this treatise on a people of different language and faith, the author shows a nice discernment in evaluating the simplicity, patience, and piety of the *habitant*. Only now and then does he slip in the interpretation of Catholic custom, as when he speaks of "buying" a Low Mass or sees in certain pious customs a kinship to magic. With charts, appendices, and pictures, he clarifies his minute exposition. We rejoice to see the

close adhesion of the family group, the size of the individual family, and the dominance of the religious factor. We regret, however, the high infant mortality, the super-abundance of unmarried ladies over the age of twenty-five, and the infiltration of modern modes into this little island of simple-minded, religious lovers-of-the-soil.

SR. M. PURISSIMA REILLY.

God in History, by Otto Piper. New York. Macmillan. 1939. pp. xxi & 189. \$2.00.

A book like this is hard to review. It is at once a theological treatise and an essay on the philosophy of history. With the orthodox Lutheranism which pervades several chapters we disagree. And yet we are in entire sympathy with the general theme of the book. Christendom has been turning away from the Church, from Christ, from God. And the result is the mess we have today. Rightly, the author traces the root of the evil to the Renaissance. Rightly, too, he sees the disillusionment and despair which marks the end of the modern era. We have read better passages in Berdyaev, Belloc and Dawson. But, no doubt, there are circles in which Professor Piper's voice will awaken an echo more readily than that of writers for whose history, philosophy and theology the reviewer has a decided preference. We welcome every ally in the struggle against the forces of night.

One need not be an out-and-out sceptic to have difficulty in accepting many an over-statement of the author anent the contribution of the Church to European civilization. His is the common fault of preachers (and lecturers) before well-disposed audiences. Sure of his general position, he is a bit careless on points of detail. This lessens the effectiveness of his solid arguments. The important point is that we are now faced with an atheist, materialist, secular civilization which cannot save itself. This book may help toward recovery.

R. CORRIGAN.

St. John Chrysostom: The Voice of Gold, by Donald Attwater. Milwaukee. Bruce Publishing Co. 1939. pp. xv + 202. \$2.00.

In this modern world of a resurrected paganism, amid the demagogic dictators and dictatorial democracies, a life of John Chrysostom is undoubtedly timely. For Chrysostom labored in the combined Paris and London of Europe, the Constantinople of the later Fourth Century. He lived in a civilization both pagan and Christian, and in certain ways more pagan than our own times. And Chrysostom exerted an influence in his day comparable to that of Pius XI in our day. Amidst all these circumstances he lived a life of great sanctity, a life hidden in God. Unless this fact be grasped, an understanding of the man is impossible. It is not so much what he did that has to be clearly grasped; it is what he was.

This succinct, well written biography gives to the English-speaking world a true picture of John Chrysostom. Moreover from the well-documented pages there also arises a clear picture of the times in which John lived. It is a picture valuable in two ways to the historian. First, because of the author's wide knowledge of, and insight into, the ecclesiastical history of the East; secondly, the frequent citation of well-chosen quotations from the orations and writings of John give the reader a vivid glimpse into the East of that day through the words of an eye-witness.

This life of St. John Chrysostom will please the historian by its sound, historical balance, and the general reader by its vividness and interesting narrative. To both it will present the stimulating history of a truly great man, perhaps the greatest orator of the Church and undoubtedly one of her greatest saints.

L. J. DALY.

The British Common People, 1746-1938, by G. D. H. Cole & Raymond Postgate. New York. Alfred Knopf. 1939. \$4.00.

Anybody who is in his "right mind" must be unalterably opposed to modern capitalism and modern war. The authors of the volume here reviewed are in their right minds.

Cole and Postgate write from what has been dubiously and frequently dubbed the Socialist point of view, an attitude which is usually greeted by horrified stares and the raising of pious hands. It is of course the privilege of authors to write as they will and of readers to read as they will. I do not mean that this work is particularly splenetic; in fact its very force lies in a cool, dispassionate analysis of Britain's social history during almost two centuries. It is for that reason perhaps a more subtle propaganda, but a most wholesome one, and requires no deep penetration to discover where the authors' sympathies lie.

All the book is worth reading, but the last hundred and fifty pages or so—from section VIII onward—which cover roughly

the last four decades are the best of the book. Therein is told, without acrimony or passion, the history of the World War as the British Common People undoubtedly viewed it, and as the great masses everywhere must have seen it. There also, is a delineation of the progress of capitalism, topheavy and lopsided, as it appears to reasonable thinkers in every country where it has taken hold.

The Common People treated in this book are not the proletarian masses of the Marxian historians. In England anyone who is not titled is "common," and the word implies no disparagement. Thus the authors have sanely included the middle class, that large leaven of the population which is so utterly important in making social history. Through the earlier chapters of the book they have shown these to be governed who continuously and successfully jockeyed for position with those who governed. The political result has been what some are pleased to call British democracy. The book is of prime importance to the student of modern history.

JOS. H. FICHTER.

Tabeau's Narrative of Loisel's Expedition to the Upper Missouri, edited by Annie Heloise Abel. University of Oklahoma Press. Norman. 1939. pp. xi + 272. \$3.50.

Pierre Antoine Tabeau, a highly educated voyageur in the employ of the St. Louis merchant, Regis Loisel, wrote this account while trading with the Arikara Indians, 1200 miles up the Missouri River at the very time when the Louisiana Purchase was being negotiated. One copy of Tabeau's manuscript, without the author's name, lay hidden for years in the Nicollet chest in the Topographical Bureau of our War Department. With this unearthed, Miss Abel learned that there was a better copy in the Sulpician library in Montreal. Her editing is an almost perfect work. If any American—or foreign—university press has ever produced a more finely balanced specimen of full, rich and accurate editing, we have not seen it. How may we account for the fact that it was reserved for the press of the University of Oklahoma to present to the public so exquisitely carved a production!

Perhaps the author himself may offer a solution. He writes: "One might read this trash. . . ." Except to the professional archaeologist, "trash" is a mild word for much of the contents. He portrays the bestial cruelties—one is tempted to say diabolical cruelties—of the native American with such disgusting picturesqueness that perhaps it had been better, at least for sensitive readers if the manuscript had been left to rot.

L. J. KENNY.

Wider Horizons of American History, by Herbert E. Bolton. New York. Appleton-Century. 1939. pp. xv + 191. \$1.50.

A Short History of the Americas, by R. S. Cotterill. New York. Prentice-Hall. 1939. pp. xv + 459. \$2.50.

These two volumes present a distinctively different interpretation of American history. Professor Bolton, in the first of the four lectures which comprise his work, shows in clear and fine summary the outline of an "Epic of Greater America," "a broader treatment of American history, to supplement the purely nationalistic presentation to which we are accustomed." He points the way to an integrated, synchronized story of the whole of America, North and South. Professor Cotterill has given us just that.

The other three lectures which Dr. Bolton has included in his volume, on "Defensive Spanish Expansion and the Significance of the Borderlands," "The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish-American Colonies," and "The Black Robes of New Spain" are undoubtedly the most authoritative and interesting of his many similar writings.

Dr. Cotterill designed his work as an introductory text. Consequently he sacrifices some of the finer points of scholarship for a successfully interesting presentation. He covers in survey form the correlated history of the whole of the Americas from the earliest explorations to the present day. There are no separate lengthy treatments of the various nations of the two continents. The history of each is dexterously woven with that of each other to form one complete narrative. For instance, the "American Revolution," just as Dr. Bolton would have it, takes on a much broader meaning than that of the North American colonies' secession from England and the campaigns from Lexington to Yorktown. The "American Revolution" did indeed begin in the English settlements, but it did not end until the last of the Latin American colonies had won its independence.

The author has not forgotten the cultural history of the Western hemisphere. It might be a revelation to some of our sophisticated educationists to hear that the universities of South Amer-

ica are still on a par with ours, and that the greatest of American novels is of Latin American origin. Yet there are some statements that could stand a little bolstering by reference or by a hint as to the source on which the author drew.

Though Dr. Cotterill pays somewhat tardy justice to the missionaries of New Spain, he is, for the most part, reasonable in his views on the Church. However, one questions the exactness of his words, "the government resorted to deportation of high Church officials," when he speaks of the Church in Mexico. "Deportation" hardly covers the treatment of Bishop Orozco y Jimenez and others.

MARTIN HASTING.

The Races of Europe, by Carleton S. Coon. New York. Macmillan. 1939. pp. xvi + 740. \$7.00.

Professor Coon is to be congratulated on the writing of a thoroughly scholarly and discriminating work. Intended as a college text in a specific branch of physical anthropology, it can serve as a reference manual for the student of history. It is as such that it will be here considered.

The whole racial background of European history is treated. The classical historian will find exceedingly valuable information concerning pre-Greek, Greek, Roman, and Celtic peoples; the medievalist will be interested in the accounts of the Slavic, Germanic, and other Indo-European peoples; the modern history scholar will find an excellent treatment of present-day peoples of Europe. The history student should become acquainted with the standard racial characteristics of the peoples he studies (especially in this day when "race" is so emphasized and made an object of national devotion). And this book will acquaint him with them in a sufficiently thorough manner by means of the printed text, excellent photographs and descriptions, all with plenty of excellent references to guide him in the pursuit of further light on any one race. The work is not too technical for the non-anthropologist, although he may occasionally have to discipline himself to a careful reading to understand fully some of the passages. There is a wide variety and abundance of maps, charts, and diagrams illustrating the distribution of races and race characteristics, and many tables provide all the technical metrical data for those who wish it. Of special interest are some 652 photographs of present-day "types," and we should not forget the some 1200 or more references to serial literature and other more specialized works.

Professor Coon does not commit himself on the topic of evolution,—at least not directly. Some of his expressions, however, might seem to indicate his belief in the complete evolution of man from lower forms, such as: "man, whose ancestors were a handful of precocious and biologically successful primates." On the whole, indeed, his treatment is very sane and careful. His treatment of the various "primitive men" clearly distinguishes what is fact and what is "reconstruction." He definitely rejects, for instance, the old idea that the Neanderthal man was a direct stage in the development of *homo sapiens*.

His main themes throughout the book are the adaptation of man to environmental and cultural influences; the blend of various human species in the present races of Europe; and the futility of studying physical anthropology outside of its historical and archaeological, biological and social contexts. He definitely states the inadequacy of material to support certain of his hypotheses in the development of the human race, which, for the lack of evidence, he states merely as possible explanations in order to make his treatment complete.

JOHN A. BECK.

Motion Pictures as an Aid in Teaching American History, by Harry Arthur Wise. New Haven. Yale University Press. 1939. pp. x + 187. \$3.00.

Within the covers of this volume we are presented—perhaps unintentionally so—with two distinct works, and though by the same author they seem to have been written by two different persons, one a scientific investigator, the other a salesman. It is to be regretted that the second part was included in a work that was carried on in the best scientific spirit characteristic of modern educational experiments.

Doctor Harry A. Wise conducted this experiment in five southwest Missouri high schools "to determine the educational value of ten of the Chronicles of America Photoplays when used as an aid to the regular instruction in high school American history." As the author points out, there have been many who claimed that the motion pictures would revolutionize teaching methods. In their first joy with their new toy educators exaggerated the value of the movies as an educational instrument. Then followed the normal slump in zeal for motion pictures in the class room. Now, when the motion pictures are no longer

a novelty and have passed the stage of swaddling clothes, we can evaluate them and their educational worth dispassionately. This study is a model of an exact and thorough investigation of an educational problem.

The results, when summarized, show that the use of motion pictures in teaching American History to high school students on the senior level "made a significant contribution when used to supplement the regular class room procedure." Throughout the study the emphasis was placed on the supplementary nature of the use of these Yale Chronicle Photoplays. A normal situation in the instructional procedure was maintained as well as possible. The author wisely warns against looking to the motion pictures as a substitute for good teaching and a good text.

A rather complete bibliography on the subject, and a set of appendices, that would prove valuable to the history teacher who wishes to enliven his class in American history, round out the book.

E. J. FARREN.

Historic Heraldry of Britain, by A. R. Wagner. Oxford. Oxford University Press. 1939. pp. 118. \$5.00.

This is something of a unique book. It describes and annotates the Arms of 142 leading figures in British history, 116 of these being illustrated by the reproduction of the sculptured heraldic panels and shields made for the British Pavilion at the New York World's Fair. The plan the author has followed in the choice of his Arms has been to distribute them more or less equally through each century since the introduction of heraldic devices in Britain, limiting himself to those who were armigerous and omitting those who were still living. Each set of Arms is described and carefully annotated with full documentation drawn largely from unpublished sources. The collection is prefaced by a short but excellent introduction to Heraldry with a list of the principal sources for the work. A brief glossary of heraldic terms and subject index has been included in the rear of the book.

This book can be of decided value to the graduate student of history as a reference work. The information contained in the notes to the various Arms would be difficult to find elsewhere, as would also the plates and illustrations. To even the general reader it is a beautiful and curious work, an entrancing album he has always wanted to touch and see.

R. L. PORTER.

A History of Brazil, by João Pandiá Calogeras. Translated and edited by P. A. Martin. Chapel Hill. University of North Carolina Press. 1939. pp. xxiv + 374. \$5.00.

Brazil is unique among the American nations. She is the only one of Portuguese foundation, and the only one which has led the varied life of a colony, kingdom, empire, and republic. Because of her origin her intensely interesting story, when told in the general history of the South American continent, is often misunderstood. But here we have her history told by a native son.

The whole of Brazil's story from its discovery, in 1498, by Duarte Pacheco Pereira, as Dr. Calogeras would have it, down to the *coup d'état* of Vargas, in 1939, has a genuineness about it that could only come from first-hand knowledge. The characterizations of Dom João VI, Dona Carlota, Dom Pedro, and the various presidents are authentic, and the Portuguese-Brazilian attitude towards such problems as the intervention into the Plata region is interesting. Though somewhat republican and secular in his general tone, the author is quite fair in dealing with the Church. His exposition of the part played by Masonry in the establishment of the republic and of the disputes between Church and State is revealing.

The mere fact that the editors of the *Inter-American Series* have selected Dr. Calogeras' work as the best one-volume history of Brazil should be sufficient recommendation. But the excellent work of Dr. Martin has made it even more valuable. His critical notes, extensive bibliography, and concluding chapter on "The Last Decade" are very well done and of great practical value.

MARTIN HASTING.

The Modern World, by Alice F. Tyler. New York. Farrar & Rinehart. 1939. pp. xii + 930. \$3.75.

There are many reasons why new text books are written and surely the rapid changes in the world today seem to necessitate bringing histories of the modern world up to date. But unless they treat specifically of contemporary events, they should provide new interpretations of times past. Otherwise there is little excuse for adding new texts to the already crowded shelves.

This work by Miss Tyler is just another text book, the third of Farrar & Rinehart's "Civilization of the Modern World" series. The last 450 years have been condensed into some 900 pages with appropriate bibliographies after each chapter. These bibliographies are, for the most part, good, but there is a tendency to include any and especially the latest books without judicious discrimination or critical comment.

The tendency to interpret events and movements in general statements is unavoidable since space (and the author's expressed design) does not permit thorough objective and factual treatment. Herein lies the reason for numerous "slips." Miss Tyler is speaking from bias or ignorance when she says: "The democracy of the nineteenth century was based upon the Protestant Revolt. . . ." (p. 123); that the English Parliament of 1628 "was filled with men of great common sense . . . intensely patriotic and loyal to all that they felt constituted the rights of Englishmen." (p. 161); that Rousseauian ideas cast "a ray of light in the general gloom which prevailed in the field of education" (p. 300).

However, this "liberalism" of the Dewey-Counts ilk is only occasional. She has tried to be objective. The great pedagogical weakness of the book is its neglect of the social and cultural aspects of the years treated.

BOLEN J. CARTER.

Sir William Blackstone, by David Lockmiller. Chapel Hill. University of North Carolina Press. 1938. pp. xviii + 308. \$3.00.

In the past year two lives of Blackstone have appeared, *The Life of Blackstone*, by Lewis C. Warden, and the present volume. The reviewer has not had the opportunity to examine the former work, but the merits of the present one are patently considerable. These two volumes have been needed, for up to now no definitely biographical treatment of Blackstone has been generally available.

The present work consists of 190 pages of text, 92 pages of appendices, a copious select bibliography, and a good index. The biographical text is thorough and scholarly but brief. The man who wrote the *Commentaries* and the background in which he wrote them are adequately sketched. Pertinent case histories, the judicial circumstances of the times, the conditions of politics and the legal profession, and the main incidents in Blackstone's life are portrayed. This work is not meant to be popular, although the author successfully relieves boredom with occasional anecdotes and lightness of style. The treatment is as thorough and scholarly as can be expected in the space used. The text, moreover, is thoroughly documented.

There are many interesting photographs, facsimiles, and reproductions. In the appendices are two of Sir William's verse attempts, his "Discourse on the Study of Law," a case argument, a welcome outline of the *Commentaries*, and an outline of Hale's *Analysis of the Law*. There is also a reprint of addresses delivered at the presentation of the Blackstone Memorial by the American Bar Association to the British Bar in 1924. All in all, this work is a noteworthy addition to *Blackstoniana*.

R. L. PORTER.

The Music of the French Psalter of 1562, by Waldo Selden Pratt. Columbia University Press. New York. 1939. pp. xii + 214. \$3.25.

Waldo Selden Pratt offers us in the third volume of "Columbia University Studies in Musicology" a scholarly history and analysis of the French or Huguenot Psalter. The book should appeal primarily to the historian since it traces the Psalter's close connection with the spread of the Reformed or Calvinistic, as distinct from the Lutheran, branch of Protestantism. Secondly the book should be of special interest to the musician who is versed in theory, harmony and history, and who is eager to discover the spirit and method of Reformation music.

The music of the Psalter is not altogether unknown, but its intrinsic value and historical significance are not generally well understood. Hence, the survey and analysis is aimed at showing the influences and results involved in compiling, editing and diffusing the Psalter among the French and other Calvinistic groups. Once in the hands of the people, it found a popular place in the church service, a fact which is proved by the multiple editions and translations of the Psalter. Its binding power among the adherents of Calvin is not strange when we consider that "the single usage that was characteristic of all Protestant bodies was congregational singing of versified texts to appropriate melodies. The habit of such songs became at once a badge of adherence to the new faith and it also proved a powerful implement in spreading that faith."

In tracing the history of the book, the author brings into play his acute knowledge of music as is proved in his careful discussion of the metrical, melodic, and moral structure of the hymns contained in the Psalter together with their homophonic and polyphonic settings. The outstanding feature of the book is a complete rescript in modern notation of the 125 melodies in the Paris edition of 1562.

ROSARIO R. MAZZA.

The Sodality Movement in the United States, 1926-1936, by Sister Mary Florence, S. L. (Bernice Wolff). St. Louis. The Queen's Work. 1939. pp. 214. \$2.00.

A copy or two of this book should be in the library of every school having a branch of the Sodality. Though rather brief, it is scholarly and well annotated, and contains a very complete bibliography which would be difficult to find elsewhere.

The book opens with an introduction of some twenty-five pages dealing with the history of the Sodality from its earliest times. The resurgence of the Sodality in 1926 under the leadership of the Rev. Daniel A. Lord, S. J., the history of Sodality Unions, National Conventions, Summer Schools of Catholic Action, and the other new Sodality projects established since 1926 are all adequately treated.

Even though we did not know that the writer was formerly of *The Queen's Work*, her handling of the subject would convince us that she is thoroughly acquainted with the Sodality. Our only criticism is the fact that the author too often quotes the opinion of student Sodalists and others whose authority is by no means equal to her own. Moderators and officers of Sodalities should find much valuable information in the eleven appendices.

ALBERT C. ZABOLIO.

The Lady of the Holy Alliance, by Ernest John Knapton. New York. Columbia University Press. 1939. pp. xii + 262. \$3.00.

The historian skimming through this book for its major conclusions will note that Julie de Krüdener was not the fairy God-mother of the Holy Alliance. The student of religious conditions will find her piety and "mysticism" somewhat bewildering. The literary critic will pronounce her second rate. The general reader bent upon admiring the heroine in the story will at times be disappointed. But the book is good history. It presents scholarly research in entertaining form.

Madame de Krüdener did exercise an influence upon Alexander, and she was convinced that the Holy Alliance was her own brain-child. But the religious fervor of the Tsar, his dreams and his past experiences could well have produced his grandiose plan for a new Christian world without her help. Similar plans in the near past were familiar to him. And the turbulent times seemed to call, as they do now, for a return to "the sublime truths contained in the eternal religion of Christ our Savior." The unsound elements in the pious dream were born of the cheap sentimentality which was a reaction to a diseased Rationalism.

The Lady of the Holy Alliance is, however, only incidentally the story of Alexander of Russia. It is much more concerned with the "lady" herself. Madame Julie has been called a "Protestant saint," and one or two uncritical hagiographers have been able so to pick and choose among her good works and her pious words that her unofficial "canonization" does not appear altogether absurd. Her thoughts on prayer and suffering and union with Christ are in the best tradition of German Pietism, which is often not far from the Kingdom of God. But there are also ecstasies, mystic marriages and other extravagances among her disciples which make the angels weep. We have here a strange mixture of piety and gush, of devotion and self-will, of near-sanctity and what is ordinarily called sin.

The story is full of human interest. Julie travels Europe from end to end during one of the most stirring epochs of history. A butterfly of the Old Regime in Paris, she flits from one capital to another, rubbing elbows with empresses, queens, princesses, diplomats, soldiers, and literary lights. She knows the poor, too, and is generous in relieving their distress. Her friends, after as well as before her "conversion," are drawn from all levels of society. The reader will touch deep currents of the political, social and religious life of the period as he follows her to her lonely death in 1824 in the distant Crimea.

R. CORRIGAN.

For those who have learned to think beyond yesterday, Rome is the focusing-point of the world's history.

M. Cary.